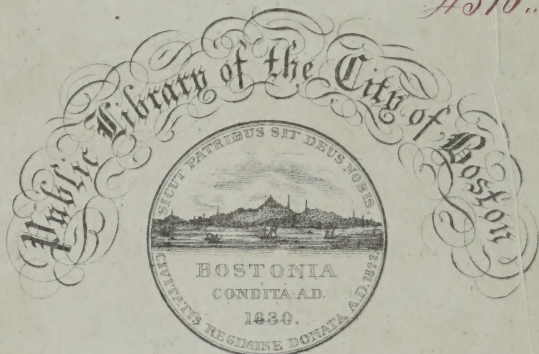


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Historical Daily Advertiser
4310213

BOSTON COURIER REPORT

OF THE

UNION MEETING

IN

FANEUIL HALL,

THURSDAY, DEC. 8TH, 1859.

SPEECHES OF

Ex-Gov. LINCOLN,
EDWARD EVERETT,
CALEB CUSHING.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE MEETING.

LETTERS OF

Ex-PRESIDENT PIERCE,
JUDGE CURTIS,
Ex-Govs. MORTON AND CLIFFORD,
PROFS. FELTON AND PIERCE,
ERASMUS D. BEACH, AND OTHERS.

NAMES OF SIGNERS TO THE CALL.

[PHONOGRAPHIC REPORT.]

PUBLISHED BY

CLARK, FELLOWS & COMPANY,

OFFICE OF THE BOSTON COURIER,
BOSTON.

has card



Boston, December 14th, 1859.

This account of the proceedings at Faneuil Hall, on the morning of December 8 published under the sanction of the Executive Committee.

WILLIAM APPLETON,
FRANKLIN HAVEN,
GEORGE LUNT,
JOHN T. HEARD,
HENRY J. GARDNER,
S. T. DANA,
SIDNEY WEBSTER,
LEVERETT SALTONSTALL,

Executive Committee.

PRESS OF GEO. C. RAND AND AVERY,
NO. 2, CORNHILL.

UNION MEETING IN FANEUIL HALL.

The meeting at Faneuil Hall Thursday morning, was the largest mid-day assembly that we remember to have witnessed for a period of many years. As early as half-past ten o'clock the hall itself was filled, and at eleven o'clock, even the vestibule and stairways were crowded. Indeed, it was impossible to enter within the outside door by reason of the throng. Each minute, hundreds were turning away, disappointed, from the vain endeavor to gain admission.

We give a most complete record of the proceedings, beginning with the original call for the meeting and the names appended.

The Call for the Meeting.

In view of the present disturbed condition of public sentiment, and the dangers which threaten our Union, the undersigned respectfully invite the citizens of Massachusetts, who honor and cherish that Union—who mean to maintain the Constitution of the United States, and faithfully to carry out all its requirements and obligations, to meet with them at Faneuil Hall THIS DAY, (Thursday,) at 11 o'clock A. M.

Nathan Appleton
Henry J. Gardner
James W. Paige,
Wm. Appleton
John T. Heard
James W. Sever
Francis Skinner
Chas. G. Greene
Peter Harvey
Edward Everett
E. B. Bigelow
Wm. Amory
James M. Beebe
Sidney Webster
Albert Fearing
Franklin Haven
George Lunt,
Henry Colt
S. T. Dana
Benj. E. Bates
J. P. Healy
C. B. Goodrich
E. F. Hodges
T. W. Pierce
Leverett Saltonstall
Peter Butler
Wm. Parsons
F. H. Jackson
Samuel F. Coolidge
P. Holmes

Edward Blake
Harrison Ritchie
H. H. Hunnewell,
Sidney Bartlett
I. Sargent
E. S. Tobey
F. N. Bradlee
Jas. Bowdoin Bradlee
Geo. B. Cary,
Nathl Thayer
H. P. Kidder
James Lee, Jr.
Thos. Dwight
Wm. Dwight
Thos. Motley, Jr.
Geo. Peabody
Chas. Wells
Wm. Thomas
Geo. H. Kuhn
T. W. H. Cadamust
I. B. Curtis
Israel Whitney,
P. C. Brooks
Uriel Crocker
Will Aspinwall
J. Giles
Tolman Wiley
James Read
Geo. W. Lyman
S G Snelling

Mark Healey
Osmyn Brewster
A. M. Swallow
J. Thos. Stevenson
R. C. Hooper.
N. Silsbee
Henry C. Hutchings
Billings Briggs
William D. Swan
Enoch Hobart
S. P. Dexter
Benj. Poor
W. H. Milton
Chas. Cushman
Gideon I. Mansfield
F. D. Williams
Jos. Murdock
Edwd E. Poor
Henry A. Gowing
W. G. Benedict
Geo. P. Denny
Geo. O. Hovey
S. Frothingham Jr
H. W. Abbot
Joshua Lovett
John D. Sabine
Zenas Cushing
Wm. Minot
John A. Loring
Geo. B. Upton
Jas. McGregor
J. Wiley Edmands
Francis Bacon
Levi Bartlett
Samuel Wells
R. H. Eddy
Farnham Plummer
Charles Merriam
Ozias Goodwin
R. M. Morse
Francis M. Weld
S. P. Meriam
J. W. Tyler
Fredk. I. Bush
Wm. Starns
Henry Chaffin
Arloch Wentworth
J. M. Murdock
J. M. Roberts
William W. Clark
E. T. Daniels
Alonzo Burbank
E. W. Hale
Joseph Hale
Franklin Hancock
Thomas Gould
James Hall
Wm. Hammond
David Snow, Jr.
Henry Dean
H. Z. Meserve

F. H. Story
N. Hooper
Geo. R. Minot
P. T. Jackson
John Clark.
John T. Morse
Elwin H. Hall
Chas. S. Cutter
Geo. J. Fiske
C. Hulbert
D. O. Blodgett
I. W. Bourne
Henry F. Cragin
Wm F. Mason
T. Jefferson Coolidge
John O. Lee
D. N. Spooner
Thos. West
Wm. Sturgis
B. F. Hallett
Henry L. Hallett
Geo. S. Hillard
W. Raymond Lee
W. H. Gregerson
John C. Crowley
Seiden Crockett
Geo. T. Curtis
B. P. Cheney
David Ellis
S. N. & H. G. Ufford
J. W. Clapp
E. Livermore
C. W. Bradstreet
John F. Currier
F. Johnson
Charles Meriam
J. W. Clark
S. C. Whiteher
Thos. H. Sactmitten
C. F. Perkins
M. Cutler
B. F. Parker
J. Owen Littlefield
N. B. FAVOR
Edward Ayers
H. K. Moore
C. Wyatt
Caleb Barker
Geo. W. Barker
John Perham, Jr.
Edwd. H. Brown
Franklin Prescott
F. Sprague
James Smith
T. K. Moore
N. M. Jewell
Orin M. Head
Daniel E. McNalley
F. A. Downing
J. F. Ayer
Joseph Lincoln

W. T. Tuckerman
 Joshua Seward
 Wm. R. Carnes
 Charles M. Wood
 Wm. Parsons
 F. H. Jackson
 S. F. Coolidge
 Mark Healy
 Osmyn Brewster
 Asa Swallow
 J. T. Stevenson, Jr.
 Nath Silsbee
 Henry C. Hutchins
 Billings Briggs
 Henry K. Oliver, Jr.
 Thos. F. Vose
 Chas. H. Stearns
 J. H. Hollis
 W. H. Milliken
 Wm. B. Goddard
 Henry Hudson
 I. I. Sullivan
 J. I. Goddard
 John Goddard
 E. Houghton
 J. C. Hunt
 W. B. Patterson
 Jno. H. Mahan
 Chas. Armstrong
 Jno. G. Spear
 Chas. U. Seaver
 Chas. E. Stearns
 Oliver Coleman
 Chauncey M. Paine
 Edw. K. Wheelock
 Alfred J. Parker
 Edw. Eaton
 Rufus E. Eaton
 Jno. R. Doane
 G. A. Rogers
 Jas. K. Munroe
 Alonzo Hayes
 Chas. Day
 M. R. Dennison
 Chas. Y. Johnson
 W. H. Beal
 Geo. C. Watson
 N. H. Converse
 Jno. S. Doane
 Geo. C. Vose
 Laurence Knowlton
 A. C. Alnsworth
 Alex. Donaldson
 Wm. H. Vincent
 Wm. Hindy
 Eben Foster
 Thos. D. Quincy
 Oliver Hall
 Saml. F. White
 Henry Hall
 Benjamin Bird
 A. H. Stevens
 Lewis P. Bird
 Elisha Ford
 Charles Lyon
 Ebenezer Sumner
 Ira Foster
 J. Suret
 C. H. Prescott
 H. T. Wheeler
 E. M. Smith
 Eben Holden, Jr.
 Isaiah Atkins
 James E. Thacher
 Francis H. Swan
 Chas. A. Clapp
 Geo. Clark, Jr.
 Elden Page
 Saml. P. Loud
 J. Henry Loud
 Thomas J. Hazen
 Geo. R. Bowker
 A. B. Wheeler
 Wm. H. Richardson
 J. Theodore Clark
 George D. Temna
 Barnard Ford
 Wm. F. Lord
 Clarence Sumner
 Moses G. Cobb

A. Perkins, Jr.
 O. H. Flagg
 S. T. Sanborn
 Erastus F. Dana
 Geo. F. Pierce
 Lyman Nichols
 Jas. C. Converse
 Joseph H. Gray
 E. W. Converse
 W. R. Harburt
 H. R. Perkins
 R. Swan
 P. S. Hockins
 Robert Kelley
 A. G. Taggart
 D. Waldo Salisbury
 John D. Parker
 Chas. Merriam, Jr.
 Frank S. Hall
 N. Walker
 Francis G. Adams
 Jesse Eddy
 S. S. Bucklin
 William H. Harding
 Nathan Day
 Augustus Brown
 Joseph Dix
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 Isaac H. Wright
 Moses Williams
 Aaron D. Williams
 John D. Weld
 Barney Corey
 Aaron D. Weld
 S. L. French
 C. H. Graves
 Levi Bartlett
 Ebr. F. Farrington
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 Wm. Curtis
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 John Campbell
 Geo. D. Phillips
 Freeman Holden
 Benj. F. Russell
 Samuel Cleaves
 Geo. Wright
 Thomas Moore
 Jas. H. Critchett
 Sylvester Bowman
 D. Bowman
 John Dunklee
 O. Holmes

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 Chas. L. Brigham, Jr.
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 N. Ripley, Jr., Hull
 George Newhall
 Alfred C. Thacher
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 Chas. H. Pierce
 Lewis F. Pierce
 Wm. H. Pierce
 Geo. F. Pierce
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 Albert Drake
 Chas. Henry Parker
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 Jacob C. Rogers
 Eben Bacon
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 J. M. Gardner
 R. S. S. Andros
 John L. Gardner
 Richd. F. Bond
 Joseph Coolidge
 Sidney Coolidge
 F. Perrin Ellis
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 Edward Dexter
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 Ives G. Bates
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 Saml. T. Damon

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 Horace Underwood
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 Solo. Piper
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 Lyman C. Vose
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 C. F. Wheeler
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 Addison Child
 G. F. Noble
 W. G. Train
 C. E. Stratton
 A. H. White
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 John T. Smith
 Lewis Endicott
 N. F. Frothingham

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 Chas. Dexter
 C. H. Dunklee
 Geo. Sherman
 John Muzzy
 Saml. J. Miles
 John B. Pazar
 Robt. M. O. Sullivan
 Saml. Prince
 Henry Bacon
 W. W. Webber
 Chas. F. Wells
 Wm. S. Tilton
 Jos. B. Tilton
 Saml. G. Thayer
 S. H. Lewis & Son
 Geo. W. Abbott & Co
 Jno. B. Robinson
 Francis K. Fisher
 Thos. A. Goddard
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 Wm. B. Davis
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 S. W. Jenkins
 F. H. Jones
 J. F. Spaulding
 Rufus Choate
 Geo. N. Thomson
 Christopher Fish
 S. B. Conant
 J. N. Phipps
 I. M. Bell
 R. H. Douglass
 Thos. C. Shirley
 J. H. Guppy
 Chas. Cotton
 Wm. E. Brown
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 Austin White
 Ira D. Davenport
 Earl Shaw
 Ziba Stearns
 D. A. Potter
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 Jas. Power
 W. A. Nickerson
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 Wm. R. Paine
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 Wm. C. Peters
 Wm. Rogers
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 Prescott Bigelow
 Chas. L. Hayward

Edward Bartlett
 Samuel Nicolson
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 William Phipps, Jr.
 Benj. Cushing
 Wm. Merriam
 Stephen C. Perrin
 Wm. Heyward
 J. Parker Whitney
 Alfred Winsor
 E. B. Thayer
 Thomas Simmons
 Henry Evans
 John F. Ehot
 Howard Snelling
 A. Hobart, Jr.
 F. Thompson
 Wm. Thwing
 Jas. W. Hannum
 Wm. E. Hodgkins
 N. W. Bridge
 Sandford M. Hunt
 Benj. Bruce
 Chas. L. Haley
 Arthur Pickering
 Chas. Arnold
 Samuel S. Allen
 E. M. Dunbar
 Chas. A. Read
 Wm. A. Bates
 James Butler
 Samuel Q. Cochran
 Samuel F. Dalton
 John S. Blake
 Wm. D. Loran
 John C. Brown
 Ebenezer Eaton
 Chas. H. Bailey
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 Wm. W. Swan
 Shelton Barry
 M. R. Collier
 T. P. Wilson
 Thos. S. Dennett
 J. D. McGill
 R. Gilpatrick
 Thos. O'Neill
 Henry D. Todd
 P. S. Barnard
 Adam Heinz
 Wm. E. Cashman
 Jacob Bambaud
 Jacob Norris
 G. H. Doggett
 B. O. Hudson
 N. Washburn
 Geo. P. Bullens
 H. Blainey
 Wm. Parsons, Jr.
 O. B. Damon
 Jas. H. Dutee
 Wm. Makepiece
 Jas. Jackson
 W. C. Rives, Jr.
 Jno. H. Rogers
 W. H. H. Kendall
 Andrew Davis
 Edward P. Cutter
 I. W. Washburn
 Thaddeus Nichols
 Wm. H. Smith
 Samuel S. Pierce
 J. E. Bubee
 W. C. H. Graves
 W. Chapman
 B. F. Adams
 Jas. McLane
 Paul Willard
 M. Hession
 Henry Haddock
 A. L. Lincoln
 Chas. M. Foss
 John Watson
 B. F. Loud
 Silas Pierce
 Jno. C. Chaffin
 E. W. Baxter, Jr.
 S. J. Prescott

Gideon F. Thayer
 Wm. F. Goodson
 Edward Lawrence
 Jos. Meyer
 Thos. S. Dexter
 T. C. Amory Dexter
 Henry Rice
 Jabez C. Homer
 Geo. H. Cutter
 T. P. Mandell
 Alonzo Hamilton
 F. E. Maynard
 L. J. Bradish
 Wm. G. Hall
 J. C. Wilson
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 Albert Morse
 Dutter N. Richards
 J. P. Bliss
 L. Robinson
 M. A. Stanfield
 Knos J. Stone
 George Pierce
 Henri A. Mansfield
 A. H. Silvester
 E. D. Vose
 Chas. H. Ward
 S. B. Fuller
 N. E. Rogers
 John S. Tyler
 Eno. W. Thayer
 J. M. Pettengill
 John F. Bouve
 Geo. Bates Blake
 Geo. C. Lee
 O. W. Peabody
 R. M. Pratt
 B. B. Forbes
 John T. Coolidge
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 James C. Wild
 J. G. Goodnow
 B. L. Allen
 E. Rhoades
 Thomas C. Amory
 S. G. Rogers
 Daniel Goodwin
 John Brooks Parker
 T. H. Brown
 J. Davis, Jr.
 John D. Bates
 S. H. Howe
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 H. S. Dunn
 Wm. H. Prescott
 J. N. Turner
 A. A. Shedd
 Wm. D. Thayer
 Wm. H. Richardson
 Chas. E. Goodwin
 James S. Kimball
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 Edw. P. Thayer
 Charles Scudder
 J. P. Rogers
 J. E. Manning
 E. D. Eager
 J. E. Daniell
 B. C. Howard & Co
 E. J. Long
 T. H. Perkins
 Chas. Amory
 Thos. A. Lindzee
 Joshua H. Daws
 Chas. Millin
 C. B. Fessenden
 Francis W. Welch
 John Ballard
 Thos. B. Hawkes
 Joseph Ballard
 Geo. L. Pratt
 Chas. Torrey
 Francis Welch
 Wm. M. Byrnes
 B. B. Zool
 Frank. A. Hall

B. T. Reed
 Wm. Appleton, Jr.
 G. o. W. Pratt
 W. Dalton
 Thos. Motley
 N. A. Emmons
 Chas. J. Hendee
 S. E. Sprague
 H. W. Fuller
 Milton Andros
 Charles Inches
 J. G. Kidder
 Caleb S. Curtis
 Geo. S. Cushing
 Nathan Matthews
 A. W. Conant
 F. E. Bacon
 C. B. Lamb
 Gordon McKay
 C. W. Spofford
 T. E. Chickering
 John A. Cummings
 B. W. Field
 Joseph H. Barret
 J. P. Draper
 Wm. Munroe
 Chas. Levi Woodbury
 Elisha Bassett
 Watson Freeman
 J. H. Conant
 C. W. Cunningham
 S. W. Green
 J. H. Cheeney
 Horace Dodd
 George Allen
 Thos. Hall
 A. S. Lewis
 J. K. Hall
 N. B. Gibbs
 Wm. H. Foster
 Alden Gifford
 Enoch Martin
 Chas. Homer
 Andrew J. Holman
 Nahum Capen
 Saml. W. Chifford
 Thos. P. Rich
 Albert Glover
 C. Wakefield
 Otis Daniel
 John H. Swasey
 Theodore Prentice
 Theo. A. Neal
 William Pratt
 J. Blake
 Otis Rich
 Fred A. Brown
 Chas. H. Sanborn
 John M. Oxtou
 Saml. S. Pierce
 H. French
 Francis Davidson
 Emmons Raymond
 E. A. Boardman
 Francis Fisher
 Jos. E. Thayer
 A. Freeman
 W. H. Boardman
 R. S. Fay, Jr.
 Henry S. Ward
 A. W. Austin
 Henry B. groves
 B. R. Curtis
 G. R. Warren
 C. F. & H. D. Parkman
 Harvey Jewell
 Robt. B. Williams
 J. H. W. Page
 Henry Burroughs
 G. D. Guild
 E. T. Osborn
 P. E. Wheeler
 James Oakes
 Frank Evans
 F. W. Andrews
 S. Amory Head
 Wm. C. Otis
 Joshua Blake
 Edward Oakes
 W. A. Cochran

F. Nickerson
 Jacob W. Seaver
 Matthew Bartlett
 J. Taylor
 W. R. Norcross
 Isaac Thacher
 John Ferris
 H. P. Bruce
 J. H. Salsby
 Elijah Drew
 Amasa W. Bailey
 Phineas Titus
 George Field
 W. G. Fisher, Jr.
 W. G. Lamphrey
 G. N. Mellen
 T. Stetson
 J. T. Gustin
 J. Dutton
 W. A. Holmes
 Josiah Hadley
 E. A. Holmes
 J. McKinley
 J. E. Holmes
 H. Weston
 F. H. Farley
 H. Fobes
 Chas. Sanderson
 John R. Lee
 J. H. Collier
 Geo. H. Gooding
 H. Kunley
 J. S. Dunlap
 Frank C. Richards
 J. A. Sampson
 B. F. Hanley
 Henry H. Cook
 J. S. Darling
 Chas. Clark
 Geo. T. Bullard
 G. Ryder, Jr.
 Geo. W. Churchill
 Jas. Holbrook
 Elisha Stone
 Jno. Belcher
 Jno. D. Cadegan
 H. E. Smith
 J. C. Trow
 A. V. Butman
 Jas. G. Foster
 Henry H. Hyde
 E. M. Smith
 Geo. Robbins
 A. Brown
 Benj. S. Freeman
 B. F. Nourse
 L. T. Prescott
 J. W. Rolvett
 G. H. Loomis
 H. S. Vinton
 W. T. R. Marvin
 John Chamberlin
 Geo. A. Batchelder
 Samuel Howard
 T. J. Smith
 Geo. W. Peck
 J. C. Lamb
 Joseph B. Norris
 Joseph A. White
 Clinton Viles
 Chas. C. Harrington
 Moses Stevens
 E. P. Robinson
 Taylor & Easton
 George Babson
 Joseph Webb
 Wm. Morgan
 John A. Wright
 Clifford Delmont
 T. E. Chickering
 Geo. H. Child
 John B. Frothingham
 Tarbell, Dana & Co.
 John Winslow
 James D. Mitchell
 Wm. Bellhedd
 W. C. Cristy, Jr.
 J. N. Burleigh
 Geo. F. Tarbell
 S. A. Endicott
 Hooper, Lewis & Co.
 F. H. Whittemore
 J. N. Randall

J. F. Nickerson
 Geo. H. Homans
 Thos. K. Cummins
 J. O. Waterman
 Matthew Ellis
 John R. Blake
 J. Luman Cunningham
 D. F. Benjamin
 W. W. Latham
 Wm. Blaney
 Saml. Willoughby
 Beman S. Baylie
 Thos. P. Chaddick
 H. M. Bowman
 J. E. Clapp
 Chas. A. Barker
 Geo. E. Wilson
 Geo. N. Dexter
 H. J. Murdock
 J. P. Gilson
 J. W. Wheelwright
 Fred. Odierne
 John O. Presbrey
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 J. Q. A. Bess
 A. J. Harlow
 Abram Smith
 Wm. H. Hayadorn
 Wm. F. Davis
 Geo. J. Dockray
 F. B. Smith
 J. W. Balch
 B. L. Wales
 J. P. Robinson
 A. Hanscom
 I. W. B. ard
 E. Frothingham, Jr.
 Geo. B. Wellman
 Henry D. Clary
 Jas. L. Tucker
 Geo. G. Lindsey
 W. H. Emery
 Jos. W. Wright
 E. W. Holmes
 J. B. Norris
 Chas. Crafts
 T. M. Runlet
 Chas. Dodd
 Wm. Williams
 T. R. Marvin
 H. A. S. D. Payne
 S. Solmes
 J. Q. Kettelle
 Thos. J. Whittemore
 T. Brown Dix
 Saml. D. Sloum
 Chas. A. Maine
 Jas. O. Frost
 O. Seaver
 M. Tobey
 Edw. Jones
 Edwin M. Palmer
 Harvey Howe
 B. F. King
 Nathl. Winsor
 Geo. A. Simmons
 J. Trull
 Ezra J. Whiton
 Darius Young
 M. D. Carlie
 Jno. H. Pearson
 Geo. Robert Carter
 J. K. Porter
 Geo. Odin
 Harrison Loring
 Isaac Story
 Geo. E. Adams
 John J. Brown
 N. B. Daggett
 Wm. Brown
 Thad. S. Allen
 Isaiah Stedman
 Geo. Ellis
 Chas. B. Darling
 J. W. Warren
 James B. Sargent
 Granville S. Seaverns
 Horace Barnes
 H. E. Deland
 S. N. Neat
 Wm. H. Barnes
 Chas. E. Grant

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 C. F. Mayo
 William Macomber
 Joseph W. Ward
 George Adams
 C. A. Tucker
 Andrew H. Ward, Jr.
 Lewis Wright
 D. H. Sparhawk
 Z. Parkhurst
 H. A. Furrar
 Jas. L. Loring
 Josiah Bradlee
 Charles Hammond
 Robert Hooper
 H. G. Gorham
 Wm. A. Hayden
 Augustus T. Perkins
 John M. Bethune
 Theodore Chase
 Wm. B. Rice
 W. T. Glidden
 M. H. Jackson
 C. W. Dickinson
 Elijah Clark
 J. W. Follansbee
 D. W. O'Brien
 S. Hathaway
 E. Sewell Price
 Abner Child
 Sam'l Andrews
 Wm. W. Parker
 Edw. L. Parres
 F. Prince
 Jas. W. Davis
 E. Atwood
 N. R. Thayer
 S. P. Lovell
 Eli A. Tate
 Nath'l Gale
 A. Brigham
 A. Hanscom
 E. K. Whittaker
 A. D. Lincoln
 M. Burbeck
 A. D. Hyde
 W. P. Hill
 A. J. Lock
 Geo. C. Davis
 Jas. Barney
 Fred'k Hill
 Chas. W. Pollard
 Geo. A. Savage
 Sam'l F. Trais
 Jno. L. Prouty
 E. P. Tucker
 L. L. Stone
 Wm'l C. Lunt
 Geo. Lovejoy
 Sam'l Fabyan
 E. Russell
 Alex. Gregg
 J. N. Burrit
 Dan'l Sanborn
 Warren Rand
 H. N. Crane
 Wm. Crossman
 N. Hathaway
 Jona. Nayson
 Chas. A. Mirick
 Robert Judge
 Andrew Thomas
 John R. Putnam
 Ebenezer Eaton.
 John C. Brown.
 Chas. H. Halley.
 Chas. A. Belford.
 E. Macdonald.
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 M. F. Warren
 Lewis Josselyn,
 S. Otis Daggett,
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 R. H. Dixey,
 Albert Alden,
 Edward Ryan,
 Washington Leach,
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 M. Albert Jacobs,
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 Ephm Nute,
 Daniel Cain,
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 John W. Neason,

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 Henry Stone
 Otis Wetherbee
 Jos. H. Jackson
 Wm. F. H. mer
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 F. Ingersoll
 Lewis G. Pray
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 Geo. Hayward
 Geo. P. Upham
 L. S. Crazin
 Pelham Bonney
 Charles Brown
 H. Simmons
 Saml. N. Dyer
 Thos. Haviland
 H. McSleeper
 Tisdale Drake
 Benj. Beal
 D. Whiston
 J. H. Rivers
 Wm. T. Hart
 E. G. Knights
 Joseph McIntire
 John F. Payson, Jr
 Harrison Fay.
 Washington Libbey
 Warren Huestis
 Joseph Child,
 Richard B. Crocker
 W. B. Day
 Joseph H. Davis
 Joshua Baker
 Eben Manson
 Jno. W. Baker
 B. Davis
 Jno. Davis
 Rev. D. A. Howes
 Rufus Lane, Jr
 M. Balch
 T. D. Heathfield
 Isaac Hardy,
 Wm. Hinkley
 Henry L. Fearing
 John C. Whiton
 Thomas Sprague
 Isaiah G. Whiton
 A. Davis Weld, Jr
 E. F. Southward
 Wm. Cole
 E. S. Conant
 Henry Siders
 Samuel C. Loud
 Gustavus V. Hall
 J. W. Whiton
 John P. Whiton
 Charles Siders
 Bartlett Brown
 H. Hallett
 L. D. Lynde
 Alexander Scudder
 Wm. E. Graves
 J. B. Morse
 William M. Hill
 Samuel Wellman
 J. Percival.
 Robert Swan.
 William W. Swan.
 J. F. Nelson,
 Frank Knight,
 James Clark,
 H. L. Blackburn,
 Chas. E. Wyett,
 Geo. E. Dyke,
 A. J. Hussey,
 C. J. F. Allen,
 J. T. Ripley,
 O. C. Wyman,
 A. A. Waldron,
 James B. Weeks,
 Jacob Tarr,
 B. H. Todd,
 Geo. F. Emery,
 G. Colburn,
 J. H. Hartshorn
 O. D. Lincoln,
 Joseph Ripley,
 John Brown,
 David H. Torrinn,
 E. B. Little,
 Anthony Chine,
 George L. Thorndike,
 Robt. Lewis Davis,

Joseph B. Bridge,
 Wm. Hardwick,
 S. Haugkins,
 Aaron Hobart,
 Wm. E. Foster,
 Wm. Kerivan,
 Thos. G. Easterbrook,
 George Jacob,
 C. W. Spofford,
 Geo. E. Bell,
 Thomas Conery,
 Geo. A. Caldwell,
 Wm. H. L. ach,
 J. A. Riddle,
 Geo. W. Lewis,
 Gearfield Learned.
 Osgood Eaton,
 Ithamar A. Bean,
 Fredk. W. Hall,
 M. E. Cushman,
 Isaac Davis,
 Robert Warner,
 Asa T. Pratt,
 D. Townsend,
 E. W. Scott,
 M. Fernald,
 Fletcher Webster,
 Thomas Hughes,
 Jas. J. Maguire,
 Otis H. Wiggin,
 J. P. Raymond,
 Richard J. Killion
 W. K. Hodgkins,
 Y. J. Seavey,
 S. N. Clough,
 Chas. McKelroy,
 John Burridan,
 Jas. Oscar Wood,
 L. A. Hitchcock,
 John Thomas,
 W. F. Emery,
 Edward Flanders,
 W. M. Danforth,
 C. W. Boulter,
 Stephen White,
 Maurice A. Hearn,
 Theodore Mearyon,
 Andrew Sumner,
 B. L. Flanders,
 Daniel Robbins,
 Chas. Haley,
 O. L. Marshall,
 Chas. W. Rhodes,
 Samuel G. Fessenden,
 Hiram Pierce,
 H. R. Tracy,
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 C. K. Wilson,
 D. K. Legaller,
 Samuel Mower,
 John H. Eastburn,
 E. Putnam,
 Lewis Clark,
 John Christian,
 J. B. Read,
 Samuel F. Lancy,
 Daniel Langdon,
 Wm. Mack,
 Chas. C. Henry,
 John & Stewart,
 Wm. A. Berry,
 James McCutcheon,
 S. Mehiggin,
 James J. Richardson,
 Wm. Knight,
 Geo. Leonard,
 Thomas Kiler,
 J. A. Nye,
 J. D. Rupp,
 Geo. Butler,
 James D. Burgess,
 Alfred C. Hersey,
 John Howe
 Geo. R. Sampson
 Augustus W. Perrin
 Parker Fowle & Sons
 R. Griswold
 John Curtis
 John Collamore
 Geo. E. Collamore
 Nehemiah A. Dyer
 William Pope
 Hiram Holt
 Seth G. Brown
 N. D. Whitney
 P. Revere
 W. E. Butts
 Geo. Hurburt
 Jas. F. Hartshorn, Jr.
 E. H. Wade
 Thomas E. Moseley

B. W. Foster,
 Robert Keith,
 Fred Tower,
 J. W. Fye
 L. Darnob,
 C. W. McLellan,
 Chas. P. Philbrick,
 John I. Becket,
 John Ferris,
 William Page,
 Edward S. Babbitt,
 J. P. Hastings,
 Joseph L. Ross,
 Nelson E. Nims,
 F. C. Hanson,
 James K. Otis
 J. P. Simpson,
 Wm. A. Prescott,
 Geo. Haslett,
 N. M. Fessenden,
 H. C. Whittemore,
 Geo. C. Russell,
 William Read, Jr.,
 Edmund Wright,
 Willard Graves,
 Elijah Thayer,
 Wm. H. Thayer,
 Geo. W. Griffin,
 John G. Hall,
 Wm. P. Brown,
 Perkins Cleveland,
 Geo. L. Brewster,
 James Brownlow,
 D. D. Hodgkins,
 Fred C. Bird,
 John Darcey,
 Edward Boyle,
 James Buckley,
 James Foley,
 Amos Quimby,
 Eugene Brown,
 Henry H. Brown,
 Wm. Brown Morris,
 P. Hubbell,
 Joseph Young,
 Thomas Sumner,
 Josiah A. Harris,
 McKean Buchanan,
 Isaac Blanchard,
 Thomas B. Preston,
 Samuel F. Woodbury,
 H. H. Downes,
 J. Missron,
 Geo. Otis Wiley,
 Jos. C. Walker,
 J. M. D. Worcester,
 Edward Riddle,
 J. O. Bradbury,
 L. Sickney
 Wm. W. Peirce,
 Henry K. Oliver, 2d,
 Thomas H. Devenis,
 H. K. Thatcher,
 Geo. E. Lincoln,
 John A. Bates, Jr.,
 Jacob Foss,
 Zenas C. Howland,
 Enoch I. Clark,
 John Mullett,
 Arthur Caswell,
 J. B. Rittenhouse,
 Wm. A. Parker,
 I. Schermerhorn,
 Walter Hastings.
 J. H. Hubbell,
 W. Mason,
 J. P. Welch,
 E. A. Bourne,
 David A. Neal,
 Amos A. Lawrence,
 Gyles P. Stone
 Nathl S. Osgood
 E. F. Williams
 Edward S. Moseley
 Wm. Stone
 P. E. Hills
 R. Stone
 R. E. Mosely
 M. H. Fowler
 Wm. E. Currier
 E. T. Hardy
 J. K. Ireland
 C. E. Plummer
 M. O. Hall
 Geo. O. Munroe
 Daniel P. Page
 G. P. Colby
 C. A. Nolcini
 Parker Roberts
 Dana Dodge
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Charles W. MacLellan
Geo. A. MacLellan
Geo. E. Fowle
Geo. Jaques
Henry D. Fowle
Elijah Stearns
Enoch H. Snelling
Sturgis Chaddock
R. E. Pecker
M. Treadwell
Granville M. Clark
Wm. Cushing
Micajah Lunt
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Ephraim Lombard
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G. H. Crichton
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Chas. Haynes
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John B. Fisk
N. Weston
Henry F. King
Eben. Putnam
Benj. W. Stone
James S. Kimball
N. J. Lord
B. A. W. st
C. F. Williams
Chas. Mansfield
Charles Roundy
Jeremiah Page
Timothy Bryant
John Dwyer
B. Brookhouse
W. H. Jackson
Isaac O. Barnes
S. F. Crockett
E. H. Sampson
J. F. Sampson
Thomas J. Lillie
Edwin E. Smite
Francis McLaughlin
Geo W. Clark
M. P. Smith
John H. Smith
Geo. O. Dargin
Jone Stone
Benj. F. Reeves
G. F. Gwinn
Edw. Fobes
Charles A. Rice
Peter Mitchell
Geo. C. S. Wentworth
Chas. K. Darling
J. H. Hanson
M. W. Shepard
Charles A. Ropes
John L. Sherriff
Nath'l Griffin
Benjamin Barstow
Benj. F. Fabens
J. Henry Cunningham
G. A. Puffer
Wm. W. Eastham
John Simmons
Alex. Strong
Chas. B. Rogers
Andrew B. Pearson
Jno. Rei er
A. J. Solis
Richard Olney
C. Berkley Johnson
Sam'l B. Pierce, Jr.
L. Dana
Nath'l Hubbard
Jeremiah Martin
T. Bradie Winchester
Henry H. Chandler
Geo. Hyde
G. Winthrop Coffin
M. J. Mandell
Benj. F. Bayley
Thatcher Magoun
Samuel B. Tucker
E. B. Seccomb
Moses Clark
Samuel R. Glen
Solomon Wildes

B. Davis, Jr.
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Henry Bartlett
Wm. D. Foster
Nathl Greely
Charles Peabody
Edward S. Rand
S. A. Smith
Joel Adams
Steph n Allen
E. G. Tucker
John Gallagher
Chas. S. Mason
John S. Whiting
W. H. Cutting
F. J. Tinkham
N. W. Coffin
James Vila
I. I. Soley
John Hill
Addison Gage
Henry A. Green
George Dennie
F. E. Frothingham
Charles Smith
Henry A. Fuller
L. Beebe
Sawyer S. Stone
John A. Baxter
A. W. Barker
Aaron D. Hubbard
John B. Drew
Charles Henshaw
Wm. Chase
Albert Hobart
Moses W. Weld
H. W. Prescott
Southworth Shaw
N. F. C. Pratt
Samuel C. Cobb
Geo. B. Upton, Jr.
Francis P. Browne
John H. B. Lang
Horace Cunningham
Edward Ives
Chas. Heywood
Timo. Dodd
O. Marland
R. Dearborn
J. R. Bigelow
Chas. F. Wilson
Otis Drury
George Burbank
Sumner Flagg
Richard Chamberlain
G. W. Clark
Thomas P. Vo e
H. W. Cushing
William Dehon
Horatio Adams
J. F. F. Iest
Amasa Coye
Samuel Kendall
John H. Dix
A. J. C. Sowdon
James Perkins
E. Seccomb
R. E. Messinger
Edward Grace
Dodge, Baldwin & Co.
William Whall
T. C. Webb
N. D. Kelley, 2d
J. M. Bell
Benj. F. Cooke
Jno. L. Hunter
Edward I. Browne
Uriel H. Crocker
F. A. Osborn
Edw. D. Sohler
Charles A. Welch
John J. Clark
Charles F. Adams
F. A. Brooks
Jas. D. Green
Columbus Tyler
Geo. Meacham
Chas. A. Wells
David P. Davis
William Read
Sam'l L. Cutter
N. A. Daniels
Geo. C. Richardson
B. Binney
J. W. Gates
W. G. Stearns
John Read
Dan'l Treadwell
Francis Bowen
C. C. Felton

Henry Jones
Charles Edmunds
Thatcher Magoun, Jr.
A. H. Coffin
Jason Farr
Frank Kent
Chas T Barry
P T Taft
Benj Davenport
J E Smith
E N Davis
Lowell Perry
C W Sawyer
Henry Turner
J H Bryant
Fred Monroe
Joseph B Hancock
Alonzo Rand
C H Westphal
W O Cassell
Alex Stowell
Michael Daliny
Isaac L Fessenden
O F Raymond
A A Frost
James E Greenleaf
Adolphus J Carter
John S Robinson
Timothy W Willard
Joseph H Berrett
John W Trull
Henderson Inches
John Revere
Joseph Whitney
J R Spalding
James L Gorham
E N Badger
H L Daggett
J B Kimball
A H Batcheller
Henry De Land
John Adams
Francis Dunn
D A Varney
Joseph S Perkins
Isaac W How
Fred K Piper
W L Tower
Wm H DuBoi
J H Lester
John R Mullen
A B Harvey
Geo W E Wood
Geo W Johnson
Henry Tucker
S P Cole
O Underwood
Thos G Bucknam
D Parker
J P Cross
H B Sawward
S F Bulkley
Abel J Proctor
D B King
F L Fay
Chas Rice
Henry Emmons
Theo A Thayer
G B DuBois
S B Stone
Wm L Elliot
John Wallace
Charles Sanders
William Dehon
Daniel Draper

Benjamin Pierce
Andrew S. Waite
Austin K. Jones
Chas. A. Young
Walter P Cottle
Chas T How
B L Marsh
G B Smith
Jas Houghton
Sam'l E Sawyer
W A Richards
John A Willard
H Penniman
Andrew J Johnson
Jno W M Appleton
J W Cathcart
Jas Woodman
Edward S Thomas
T Mansfield
Geo S Monroe
Henry B Greene
John A Remick
John Armstrong
John B Murry
Fred Murry
Jacob Bur
Jose de Valesquez
Charles Thompson
Edw Lawrence
Timothy T Sawyer
Edwin F Adams
N G Child
Jas K Frothingham
John Skilton
Benj G Blanchard
W H Davis
Edw C Weed
Geo Billings
John Hobart
C D Brooks
W P Tower
E Hathaway
Wm E Hunt
C S Hunt
H O A Orr
B N Alden
Isaac Nutton
Chas Rogers
Dan'l P Edson
L W Clarke
Wm A Rust
John H Foster
Edward Hobart
Bradford L Wales
Barnard Thacher
James Maguire
C C Mitchell
Geo Bryant
Robt Curtis
H G Bates
Jacob A Rogers
Thomas Royer
William Frost
Hall J How
Sam'l W Bates
Chauncey Smith
Henry Blanchard
John Blanchard
H G Parker
I J Cutter
Henry E Hersey
Chas L Lincoln
Warren F G Ibert
H H Stimpson
Wm P Draper

At a few minutes past eleven o'clock, Mr. William Appleton of Boston, Ex-Governor Lincoln of Worcester, Mr. Edward Everett of Boston, Mr. Caleb Cushing of Newburyport, and a large number of the prominent citizens, from all parts of the State, entered the Hall, and were received with immense enthusiasm by the audience. Mr. William Appleton called the meeting to order, and proposed the following organization :

FOR PRESIDENT.

EX-GOVERNOR LEVI LINCOLN.

FOR VICE PRESIDENTS.

Ex-Governor Morton, of Taunton.
 Ex-Governor Clifford, New Bedford.
 Ex-Governor Gardner, Boston.
 F. W. Lincoln, Jr., Mayor, Boston.
 Nathan Appleton, Boston.
 Dr. James Jackson, Boston.
 Josiah Bradlee, Boston.
 William Sturgis, Boston.
 George Ticknor, Boston.
 Charles H. Warren, Boston.
 Charles W. Cartwright, Boston.
 Thomas Aspinwall, Boston.
 Frederic Tudor, Boston.
 James W. Sever, Boston.
 Charles Wells, Boston.
 James W. Paige, Boston.
 Dr. George Hayward, Boston.
 George W. Lyman, Boston.
 Sidney Bartlett, Boston.
 Benjamin M. Farley, Boston.
 William Dwight, Boston.
 William P. Mason, Boston.
 Peter C. Brooks, Boston.
 James M. Beebe, Boston.
 Charles B. Goodrich, Boston.
 Albert Fearing, Boston.
 Charles G. Greene, Boston.
 Levi Bartlett, Boston.
 George B. Upton, Boston.
 E. B. Bigelow, Boston.
 Francis Skinner, Boston.
 Benjamin F. Hallett, Boston.
 J. Thomas Stevenson, Boston.
 Osmyn Brewster, Boston.
 Silas Pierce, Boston.
 John P. Bigelow, Boston.
 Nathaniel Thayer, Boston.
 Thomas B. Curtis, Boston.
 George S. Hillard, Boston.
 George T. Curtis, Boston.
 John H. Thorndike, Boston.
 John P. Healy, Boston.
 E. W. Pike, Boston.
 Charles Emerson, Boston.
 William W. Greenough, Boston.
 Ebenezer Johnson, Boston.
 William Amory, Boston.
 E. F. Hodges, Boston.
 Benjamin E. Bates, Boston.
 J. Mason Warren, Boston.
 Charles Levi Woodbury, Boston.
 Peter Harvey, Boston.
 Alanson Tucker, Jr., Boston.
 David Sears, Jr., Boston.
 John H. Eastburn, Boston.
 Francis J. Parker, Boston.
 Thomas W. Peirce, Boston.
 Charles P. Curtis, Boston.
 Israel Whitney, Boston.
 Lewis W. Tappan, Boston.
 Joseph M. Wightman, Boston.

George M. Browne, Boston.
 Edwin C. Bailey, Boston.
 John Hill, Boston.
 Adam W. Thaxter, Jr., Boston.
 Samuel A. Eliot, Cambridge.
 E. D. Beach, Springfield.
 George Peabody, Salem.
 William G. Bates, Westfield.
 Edward A. Newton, Pittsfield.
 Benjamin Peirce, Cambridge.
 Increase Sumner, Great Barrington.
 Nathaniel Silsbee, Salem.
 C. C. Felton, Cambridge.
 Edward Dickinson, Amherst.
 Matthias Ellis, South Carver.
 George Marston, Barnstable.
 Joseph Hoxie, Sandwich.
 H. W. Bishop, Lennox.
 Samuel L. Crocker, Taunton.
 M. P. Wilder, Dorchester.
 Lorenzo Sabine, Roxbury.
 Luther V. Bell, Charlestown.
 Moses Davenport, Newburyport.
 Thomas Motley, Dedham.
 E. T. Ensign, Sheffield.
 Benjamin F. Butler, Lowell.
 Amos A. Lawrence, Brookline.
 B. K. Hough, Gloucester.
 J. D. Green, Cambridge.
 John S. Sleeper, Roxbury.
 Nathaniel J. Lord, Salem.
 Thomas F. Plunkett, Pittsfield.
 Caleb Stetson, Braintree.
 Aaron Hobart, Jr., East Bridgewater.
 Henry G. Gray, Marblehead.
 Isaac Davis, Worcester.
 R. B. Forbes, Milton.
 Henry W. Clapp, Greenfield.
 S. B. Phinney, Barnstable.
 Nathaniel Wood, Fitchburg.
 Charles A. Welsh, Waltham.
 W. Olney, Oxford.
 Rejoice Newton, Worcester.
 Henry Hersey, Hingham.
 E. P. Tileston, Dorchester.
 Charles Thompson, Charlestown.
 Richard S. Spofford, Jr., Newburyport.
 Charles Kimball, Ipswich.
 Alexander Baxter, Barnstable.
 Robert Sherman, Pawtucket.
 Moses Williams, West Roxbury.
 Moses Tarr, Gloucester.
 Ansel Phelps, Springfield.
 Harvey Arnold, North Adams.
 William E. Parmenter, West Cambridge.
 F. W. Lincoln, Canton.
 Richard S. Rogers, Salem.
 William D. Swan, Dorchester.
 Arthur W. Austin, West Roxbury.
 Daniel Fisher, Edgartown.
 Edward S. Moseley, Newburyport.
 Paul Willard, West Roxbury.
 Isaac C. Taber, New Bedford.
 Henry H. Childs, Pittsfield.
 Gorham Babson, Gloucester.
 James H. Carlton, Haverhill.
 Jeffrey R. Brackett, Quincy.
 William Mixter, Hardwick.
 John Kenrick, Orleans.

FOR SECRETARIES.

Henry Colt,	Pittsfield.
Thomas E. Chickering,	Boston.
Joseph P. Gardner,	Boston.
William C. Endicott,	Salem.
William C. Williamson,	Boston.
B. F. King,	Concord.

The above list was approved, and Mr. Appleton then introduced Ex-Governor LEVI LINCOLN, who was received with immense cheering. He said:

Fellow Citizens,—I am indeed oppressed by the cordiality with which you are pleased to receive me, with this earnest welcome. I thank you from my heart for the honor which is conferred upon me. This, fellow citizens, is a grave occasion upon which we have assembled together; and it cannot but be fitting that we seek the Divine blessing upon our counsel and upon our deliberations; and with your permission I will invite Rev. Dr. Blagden to officiate upon this occasion.

Prayer of Rev. Dr. Blagden of the Old South Church.

Dr. Blagden then offered prayer as follows:

Almighty God, our Heavenly Father: We acknowledge thee as the God of our Fathers, and our own God, and would bless thee for the circumstances in which we are permitted to meet here this morning, as fellow-citizens of a free and happy country. We acknowledge thee as the source of those blessings we so abundantly enjoy, and would especially bless thee for the revelation of thy will to mankind, given to us in the Scriptures of the Old and of the New Testament. We bless thee that wherever this will has been revealed, there man has risen under its teachings and its guidance, to the blessings of civil and religious liberty. We bless thee that our fathers, the fathers of our land drew from this source those teachings and those doctrines which have been transmitted unto us, and that under the guidance of thy word we are enjoying in so great a degree those blessings that were enjoyed by them. We especially bless thee Oh Lord, for that Gospel of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, which, wherever man is permitted by his fellow-man to worship thee according to the dictates of his own conscience, does not attach any political or domestic relations of humane society, but infuses into all of them those blessed principles which, purifying and elevating all who are under them, promote ultimately that glorious liberty wherewith Christ makes free. And we bless thee that this blessed Gospel, without convulsing human society, thus improves and thus blesses it; teaching men that the powers that be are ordained of God, that they should submit to those powers; teaching them that the magistracy beareth not the sword in vain, and that we should obey his authority. And we praise thee, Oh Lord, that in so great a degree, under the teachings of this Gospel, and in obedience to its precepts, our community has been a law-abiding community; and that throughout the land we have been connected with each other in obedience to the Constitution of the country and stand before them to praise thee to-day for the blessings with which thou hast conferred on liberty, and all the mercies of this life. Oh Lord, we would acknowledge thee now, and pray for thy guidance in the proceedings of this occasion. We would invoke thy blessing on the venerable man who comes from

his retirement to preside over us. We would invoke thy blessing on those who shall lead our thoughts and summon up our spirits to appreciate the great blessings we enjoy, as the citizens of this country, and give counsel, so to exercise towards all our fellow citizens in whatever circumstances they may be placed, a Christian and heartfelt patriotism. Bless those men who shall direct our thoughts; make us grateful for the services that in other capacities they have rendered to their country, and grateful that they remain unto us, while others have departed, to speak to us of our blessings, and to strive with us to transmit those blessings to the latest generation of our descendants. We pray for this blessing on the whole country, especially upon this Southern section of it; on thy servant, the President of the Union, and those connected with him in the immediate administration of our government, on both houses of Congress in their present session, on our State officers and the Legislature, on the citizens of this our beloved State, on all who are here this morning, may thy blessing descend accordingly as we hope in thee. And help us, Oh Lord, with one heart, as well as with the lip, to join in the prayer taught by our blessed Saviour to his disciples, to be a guide in the spirit of the petitions of his followers throughout all time. And to say, "Our Father, who art in Heaven, hallowed be thy name; thy kingdom come; thy will be done on earth as it is done in heaven; give us this day our daily bread; forgive us our trespasss as we forgive those who trespass against us; lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil; for thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever and ever. Amen."

Mr. Lincoln now came forward on the platform and addressed the meeting briefly, as follows:

Speech of Hon. Levi Lincoln.

Fellow Citizens: I have been brought from long retirement, by a deep sense of the importance of the occasion, and by the invitation and urgency of respected friends, representatives of yourselves, whose summons I could not feel at liberty to disregard. I am with you, to participate in your counsels, and to express my sympathy and hearty concurrence in the declared patriotic purposes of your meeting. (Applause.)

It was the noble saying of an eminent citizen, a patriot of the Revolution, and one of the founders of the Republic, who, through his great services, and the virtues of his life, was elevated to the Chief Magistracy of this Commonwealth, and to the second office in the nation, that, "he held it to be the duty of every citizen, if he has but one day to live, to devote that day to the good of his country." (Applause.) Thus instructed, it was not for me, a humble citizen, who, through a long life, have largely shared in the enjoyment of the richest blessings, which only such a country can bestow, to refuse one hour, if it may be, to its service.

Fellow citizens, it cannot be denied or disguised, that we have fallen upon troubled and anxious times. The prosperity which we have enjoyed, the glory which the nation has achieved, the peace, security, and happiness, which hitherto have been our lot, are all imperilled by the divisions and dissensions, the animosities and heart-

burnings, which already exist, and are daily engendered amongst us. We have been accustomed, indeed, to hear murmurings of dissatisfaction and discontent, of opposition and hostility to the government under which we live, and its established institutions, but these utterances have principally been confined to small classes of men, of peculiar, extreme, and impracticable views, and have produced but little impression. (Applause.)

Recent deplorable events in a sister State have greatly intensified and expanded these feelings, and given bitterness and alarming significance to their expression; and now, we hear from large assemblies and conventions, attended by men of respectable character, impassioned and threatening resolutions, denunciatory alike of the Union and the Constitution, of the government and its administration under the compromises, upon which alone the government could have been established. Even a Senator of the State, [Mr. Parker of Worcester], has found it necessary, or thought it fit, to offer an excuse for his oath of allegiance to the Constitution, in the desire of place under that very Constitution. (Cheers.)

Can it have been well considered, how little the events in Virginia furnish *sufficient*, or *any*, occasion for such proceeding? Of the motives of John Brown, or of the manly traits in his character, I have nothing to say here. I leave them with those who can find any thing to eulogize in the conduct of a man whose life has been justly forfeited to offended law (immense cheering) by atrocious criminalities. (Cheers.) If John Brown was a sane man, it cannot be denied that he was guilty of a great crime. Those who claim for him a martyr's fame, will not thank any one for offering in his excuse a plea of insanity. A martyr's crown is never won by an insane mind. (Applause.)

No, fellow citizens, John Brown was not a madman, except as all men are mad when they sin against reason. He knew well what he was about. He did not reckon without his host. He looked for success and a conqueror's triumph. The last hour of his life furnishes an explanation of the seeming mystery of his extraordinary rashness. In the parting interview with his comrade (Cook) he reproached him with deception and treachery, in falsely representing to him that the slaves of Virginia were ripe for insurrection, and would rush to his standard. And this was the encouragement to the work upon which he entered—*an assurance of support and the expectation of success.*

On this reliance he invaded with a hostile force the peaceful village of Harper's Ferry, seized upon the public arsenal, from which to distribute deadly weapons to an ignorant, excited, servile population, stimulated, as it might be, to fury, by a sense of oppression and the promise of emancipation;—with armed men, in the watches of the night, forced an entrance into private dwellings, and bore from their very beds peaceful and respectable citizens as prisoners of war, to his military fortress;—shot down those who opposed him, and caused consternation and unspeakable distress to the hearts of the timid and defenceless, throughout a great community. And for the dealings

of the law with such a man, in the very State whose peace he had violated, are we to find cause of offence in the institutions of government by which others, the quiet and the good, are protected? In any other State than Virginia, aye, under any government in the civilized world, by like acts, John Brown, or any other man than John Brown, would have incurred a like penalty. Let a body of armed men, whether few or many, strangers here, from a distant community, I care not with what motives or for whatever objects, invade the territory of Massachusetts; seize the magazine of arms, for distribution among the ignorant and the dissolute; capture and make prisoners peaceable citizens, shoot down those whom the law should oppose to their violence, and thus carry fear and dismay to the hearts of the people, let this be done, and I will not say that the proceedings would not be more formal and the trial less hurried, but this I know, that the law of Massachusetts would not fail to adjudge the offenders to a felon's doom. Let it be borne in mind that John Brown was at the time the citizen of a free State, his family and property under the protection of a free State, while himself, with all his kin, were strangers to the population and the soil of the slave State of Virginia.

Fellow-citizens, I trust I need not say, in this presence, that I am no advocate for oppression in any of its forms. I am a friend to freedom, as are you all. I would restrict slavery to its narrowest legalized limits, and do whatever was in my power to remove it from the whole land, whenever, and as soon, as in the goodness and mercy of God, it could be done with wisdom and safety. We are all lovers of liberty. There is not a single pro-slavery man, in the opprobrious sense of that term, in all this vast assembly; no, not one.

I am not insensible that irritating and opprobrious language and defiant resolves are not confined to any section of our common country. The South has uttered many undeserved reproaches, and committed many grievous and unjust aggressions upon the feelings and rights of the free States. There have been mutual criminations and recriminations, until mutual respect and confidence between the different sections have come to be greatly impaired. Hence the danger of entire alienation and enmity, to the certain subversion of our civil institutions.

The times eminently demand calmness and consideration, a better spirit, and mutual conciliation. We have yet a country both to serve and to love,—a great, a glorious, a prosperous, and, despite of our political strifes and contentions, a still happy country. There is not an evil which exists, under the Union, which may not be better dealt with *in* the Union, than *out* of it. Division can remove no cause of difference, disunion restore no harmony to intercourse. We are here to rebuke the spirit of dissension and discord—here in this temple of liberty to renew our vows; and whatever else others, here or elsewhere, may say or may do, to declare for ourselves, that, come weal or come woe, we will defend the Constitution, and stand by the Union. [Prolonged Cheering.]

THE RESOLUTIONS.

GEORGE LUNT, Esq., rose to read the Resolutions. He said,

Mr. Chairman: The Executive Committee at whose call this meeting is assembled have seen fit to devolve upon me the honor of presenting to your acceptance the resolutions which I hold in my hand. I shall barely read the resolutions and then leave you to listen to the noble sentiments which you have a right to expect, and which I rejoice to believe will be so grateful to this vast and patriotic assembly.

Assembled at Faneuil Hall in the city of Boston, on this 8th day of December, 1859, in consideration of recent events which have so disturbed the public mind, and which have given just occasion for the expression of patriotic sentiments becoming our principles and obligations: Be it

Resolved, That as citizens of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, forgetting none of the common trials, sacrifices, and efforts by which our National Independence was secured, and our National Compact established, we desire to seize this opportunity to renew and to reassert the feelings and duties which bind us to our sister States and to the Federal Union.

Resolved, That the people of Massachusetts, however many of them may have been misled into extravagant opinions and action, are nevertheless well disposed in general to obey the laws, to maintain order and good government, to respect mutual rights and obligations, and to disapprove whatever influences lead in a contrary direction; and we regret that the main body of our citizens, too much through the neglect of their political duties, have been often falsely exhibited in the eyes of the nation, by those whose councils and conduct do not command the general approbation.

Resolved, That we look with indignation and abhorrence upon the recent armed invasion of the Commonwealth of Virginia; that however narrow, or however comprehensive was the clandestine and iniquitous scheme, in its instruments or its execution, it was an undisguised assault upon the peace and welfare of the whole country; that we deeply sympathise with the people of Virginia, in the trying scenes which they have been called to pass through; and proffer them and their civil authorities, and those of the Federal Government our unfailing countenance and support in the maintenance of the laws of the land and the public peace.

Resolved, That generous love of country is the noblest passion which can animate the soul of a citizen in a free State; and that the opposite sentiment, so zealously propagated of late by the fanatical ministers of a false philanthropy, is fatal to the public peace, honor and welfare, and deserves the severest reprobation of every true American.

Resolved, That the advantages and privileges through the blessing of Divine Providence, enjoyed by the people of this country, are unparalleled in the history of nations; that we can be deprived of them only by our own want of a due sense of their value; and that intestine dissension, so often the bane of ancient and modern States, can alone expose us to the danger of losing possessions so inestimable.

Resolved, That the unchangeable union of these States is indispensable to the prosperity and glory of each and of all; and even to our continued existence

as a civilized and enlightened nation; and, that in league with our patriotic brethren throughout the Union, we solemnly pledge ourselves to uphold it with "our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor."

Resolved, That we profoundly honor and cherish the Constitution of the United States, for the consummate wisdom and liberality of its just and salutary provisions; that we are resolved to maintain that great charter of our liberties and safety by all honorable means, and faithfully and unreservedly to carry out all its obligations and requirements.

Resolved, That it is the bounden and highest duty of all the citizens of this country to discountenance whatever may tend to produce alienation of feeling, or division of sentiment or interest, between the several States, and zealously to cultivate and promote every influence likely to advance and maintain the most amicable relations among the whole people of the United States.

Resolved, That we hereby denounce, as worthy of the most unqualified condemnation, every demonstration and every expression of sentiment, whether public or private, tending to extenuate, or apologise for the conduct or characters of the criminal actors in the late outrage in Virginia, or to make them seem other than the guilty agents and victims of a fanatical and fatal delusion; and we hold those, in whatever station and of whatever profession, whose opinions and exhortations, heretofore uttered, have so manifestly tended to this great wrong and crime, as fully responsible for it and all its evil consequences, before God and the country.

Resolved, That with the deepest emotions of veneration for the sagacity and patriotic spirit which prompted the sentiments, we reiterate the language of the father of his country, in his farewell address to the people of the United States, that "It is of infinite moment that we should properly estimate the immense value of our national union to our collective and individual happiness; that we should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming ourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of our political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned, and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts."

These resolutions, as they were severally read and at their conclusion, were received with the most enthusiastic and unanimous applause.

The Chairman now said:

Fellow Citizens: In illustration and support of the resolutions you have heard, so eloquent and so patriotic, it is my happiness to present to you one of the most eloquent and patriotic of your fellow citizens, whose whole life has been devoted to the service of his country, to the promotion of its security, prosperity and honor. I present to you the Hon. Edward Everett. (Prolonged Applause.)

The Hon. EDWARD EVERETT, who was hailed with every demonstration of respect and enthusiasm, spoke as follows:

Speech of Hon. Edward Everett.

Mr. Chairman and Fellow-Citizens: In rising to address you, on this important occasion, indulge me in a few words of personal explanation. I did not suppose that anything could occur which would make me think it my duty to appear again on this platform, on any occasion of a political character, and had this meeting been of a party nature or designed to promote any party purposes, I should not have been here. When compelled by the prostration of my health five years ago, to resign the distinguished place which I then filled in the public service, it was with no expectation, no wish, and no intention of ever again mingling in the scenes of public life. I have accordingly, with the partial restoration of my health, abstained from all participation in political action of any kind; partly because I have found a more congenial, and, as I venture to think, a more useful occupation in seeking to rally the affections of my countrymen North and South, to that great name and precious memory which is left almost alone of all the numerous kindly associations, which once bound the different sections of the country together; and also because, between the extremes of opinion that have long distracted and now threaten to convulse the country, I find no middle ground of practical usefulness, on which a friend of moderate counsels can stand. I think I do a little good,—I try to,—in my waning years, in augmenting the funds of the charitable institutions,—commemorating from time to time the honored dead and the great events of past days, and chiefly in my humble efforts to rescue from desecration and the vicissitudes of private property the home and the grave of Washington. These, sir, seem to me to be innocent and appropriate occupations for the decline of life. I am more than contented with the favor with which these my humble labors are regarded by the great majority of my countrymen; and knowing by experience how unsatisfying in the enjoyment are the brightest prizes of political ambition, I gladly resign the pursuit of them to younger men.

Sir, the North and the South, including the Northwest and Southwest, have become fiercely, bitterly arrayed against each other. There is no place left in public life for those who love them both. The war of words—of the press, of the platform, of the State Legislatures, and, must I add, the pulpit?—has been pushed to a point of exasperation, which, on the slightest untoward accident, may rush to the bloody arbitrament of the sword. The great ancient master of political science (Aristotle) tells us, that though revolutions do not take place for small causes, they do from small causes. He means, sir, that when the minds of the community have become hopelessly embittered and exasperated by long continued irritation, the slightest occurrence will bring on a convulsion.

In fact, it seems to me, that we have reached a state of things which requires all good men and good patriots to forego for a time mere party projects and calculations, and to abandon all ordinary political issues; which calls in a word upon all who love the country and cherish the Union, and desire the continuance of those bless-

sings which we have till lately enjoyed under the Constitution transmitted to us by our Fathers,—and which I regard as the noblest work of political wisdom ever achieved,—and to meet as one man and take counsel for its preservation. It is this feeling that has brought me here to-day.

It will probably be said, sir, that those who entertain views like these exaggerate the gravity of the crisis. I wish I could think so. But I fear it is not we who exaggerate, but those who differ from us, that greatly—and soon, I fear it will be, fatally—underrate the ominous signs of the times. I fear, sir, that they are greatly misled by the one-sided views presented by the party press, and those who rely upon the party press exclusively for their impressions, and that they are dangerously ignorant of the state of opinion and feeling in the other great section of the country. I greatly fear that the mass of the community in this quarter, long accustomed to treat all alarm for the stability of the Union as groundless, and all professed anxiety for its preservation as insincere, or, if sincere, the result of nervous timidity, have unfitted themselves to measure the extent and the urgency of the existing danger. It is my own deliberate conviction, formed from some opportunities of personal observation, and from friendly correspondence with other parts of the country, (though I carry on none of a political nature), that we are on the very verge of a convulsion, which will shake the Union to its foundation; and that a few more steps forward, in the direction in which affairs have moved for a few years past, will bring us to the catastrophe.

I have heard it urged on former occasions of public alarm, that it must be groundless, because business goes on as usual,—and the theatres are open, and stocks keep up. Sir, these appearances may all be delusive. The great social machine moves with a *momentum*, that cannot be suddenly stopped. The ordinary operations of business went on in France, in the revolution of 1789, till the annihilation of the circulating medium put a stop to everything that required its use. The theatres and all the other places of public amusement were crowded to madness in the reign of terror. The French stocks never stood better than they did in Paris on the 21st of February, 1848. On the 24th of that month Louis Philippe was flying in disguise from his capital; the Tuileries were sacked, and the oldest monarchy in Europe had ceased to exist.

I hold it to be time, then, Sir, as I have said, for good men and good patriots, casting aside all mere party considerations, and postponing at least all ordinary political issues, to pause; to look steadily in the face the condition of things to which we are approaching; and to ask their own consciences, whether they can do nothing or say nothing to avert the crisis, and bring about a happier and a better state of things. I do not ask them to search the past for topics of reproach or recrimination on men or parties. We have had enough of that, and it has contributed materially to bring about our present perilous condition. In all countries where speech and the press are free, especially those countries which by controlling natural causes fall into two great sections, each possessing independent local legislatures and centres of political opinion and influence, there will in

the lapse of time unavoidably be action and reaction of word and deed. Violence of speech or of act, on the one side, will unavoidably produce violence of speech and act on the other. Each new grievance is alternately cause and effect—and if, before resorting to healing counsels, we are determined to run over the dreary catalogue, to see who was earliest or who has been most to blame, we engage in a controversy in which there is no arbiter, and of which there can be no solution.

But without reviving the angry or sorrowful memories of the past, let me, in all friendliness, ask the question, what has either section to gain by a dissolution of the Union, with reference to that terrible question which threatens to destroy it. I ask patriotic men in both sections to run over in their minds the causes of complaint which they have, or think they have, in the existing state of things, and then ask themselves dispassionately whether anything is to be gained, anything to be hoped, by pushing the present alienation to that fatal bourne, from which, as from death, there is no return? Will the South gain any greater stability for her social system, or any larger entrance into the vacant public territories? Will the North have effected any one object, which by men of any shade of opinion, extreme or moderate, is deemed desirable; on the contrary, will not every evil she desires to remedy be confirmed and aggravated? If this view of the subject be correct what can be more unwise—what more suicidal, than to allow these deplorable dissensions to result in a Revolution, which will leave the two great sections of the country in a worse condition than it finds them, with reference to the very objects for which they allow themselves to be impelled to the dreadful consummation?

But I shall be told perhaps that all this is imaginary; that the alarm at the South is factitious or rather a groundless panic, for which there is no substantial cause,—fit subject for ridicule rather than serious anxiety. But I see no signs of panic in Virginia, except for a few hours at Harper's Ferry, where in the confusion of the first surprise, and in profound ignorance of the extent of the danger, the community was for a short time paralyzed. I am not sure that a town of four or five hundred families in this region, invaded at midnight by a resolute band of twenty men, entering the houses of influential citizens, and hurrying them from their beds to a stronghold previously occupied, and there holding them as hostages—I am not sure, sir, that an equal panic would not be created till the extent of the danger was measured. Besides, sir, if the panic had been much more extensive than it was, the panics of great and brave communities are no trifles. Burke said he could not frame an indictment against a whole people; it seems to me equally in bad taste at least to try to point a sneer at a State like Virginia. The French are reputed a gallant and warlike people; but the letters from the late seat of war tell us, that even after the great victory of Solferino, a handful of Austrians, straggling into a village, put a corps of the French army—thousands strong—to flight. A hundred and fifty men overturned the French monarchy, on the occasion to which I have already alluded, in 1848. When the circumstances of the case are taken into con-

sideration, I suspect it will be agreed that any other community in the country, similarly situated, would have been affected in the same way. A conflict of such an unprecedented character, in which twelve or fourteen persons on the two sides were shot down, in the course of a few hours, appears to me an event at which levity ought to stand rebuked, and a solemn chill to fall upon every right thinking man.

I fear, Sir, from the tone of some of the public journals, that we have not made this case our own. Suppose a party of desperate misguided men, under a resolved and fearless leader, had been organised in Virginia, to come and establish themselves by stealth in Springfield in this State, intending there, after possessing themselves at the unguarded hour of midnight of the National Armory, to take advantage of some local cause of disaffection, say the feud between Protestants and Catholics, (which led to a very deplorable occurrence in this vicinity a few years ago,) to stir up a social revolution; that pikes and rifles to arm twenty-five hundred men had been procured by funds raised by extensive subscriptions throughout the South,—that at the dead of a Sunday night, the work of destruction had begun, by shooting down an unarmed man, who had refused to join the invading force; that citizens of the first standing were seized and imprisoned,—three or four others killed: and when on the entire failure of the conspiracy, its leader had been tried,—ably defended by counsel from his own part of the country, convicted and executed, that throughout Virginia which sent him forth on his fatal errand, and the South generally, funeral bells should be tolled, meetings of sympathy held, as at the death of some great public benefactor, and the person who had plotted to put a pike or a rifle in the hands of twenty-five hundred men, to be used against their fellows, inhabitants of the same town, inmates of the same houses; with an ulterior intention and purpose of wrapping the whole community in a civil war of the deadliest and bloodiest type in which a man's foes should be those of his own household; suppose, I say, that the person who planned and plotted this, and with his own hand or that of his associates acting by his command, had taken the lives of several fellow beings, should be extolled, canonized, placed on a level with the great heroes of humanity, nay, assimilated to the Saviour of mankind; and all this not the effect of a solitary individual impulse, but the ripe fruit of a systematic agitation pursued in the South, unrebuked, for years! What, Sir, should we feel, think, say under such a state of things? Should we weigh every phrase of indignant remonstrance with critical accuracy, and divide our murmurs with nice discrimination among those whom we might believe, however unjustly, to be directly or indirectly concerned in the murderous aggression?

Mr. Chairman, those who look upon the existing excitement at the South as factitious or extravagant, have, I fear, formed a very inadequate idea of the nature of such an attempt as that which was made at Harper's Ferry was intended to be, and would have been had it proved successful. It is to want of reflection on this point that we must ascribe the fact, that any civilized man in his right mind, and still more any man of intelli-

gence and moral discernment, in other respects, can be found to approve and sympathize with it. I am sure if such persons will bring home to their minds, in any distinct conception, the real nature of the undertaking, they would be themselves amazed that they had ever given it their sympathy. It appears from his own statements and those of his deluded associates, of his biographer, and of his wretched wife, that the unhappy man who has just paid the forfeit of his life had for years meditated a general insurrection in the Southern States; that he thought the time had now come to effect it; that the slaves were ready to rise and the non-slaveholding whites to join them; and both united were prepared to form a new Commonwealth, of which the constitution was organized and the officers chosen. With this wild, but thoroughly matured plan, he provides weapons for those on whose rising he calculated at Harper's Ferry; he seizes the national arsenal, where there was a supply of arms for a hundred thousand men; and he intended, if unable to maintain himself at once in the open country, to retreat to the mountains, and from their fastnesses, harass, paralyze, and at length revolutionize the South. To talk of the pikes and rifles not being intended for offensive purposes, is simply absurd. The first act almost of the party was to shoot down a free colored man, whom they were attempting to impress, and who fled from them. One might as well say that the rifled ordnance of Louis Napoleon was intended only for self-defence, not to be used unless the Austrians should undertake to arrest his march.

No, sir, it was an attempt to do on a vast scale what was done in St. Domingo in 1791, where the colored population was about equal to that of Virginia; and if any one would form a distinct idea what such an operation is, let him see it—not as a matter of vague conception—a crude project—in the mind of a heated fanatic, but as it stands in the sober pages of history, which record the revolt in that Island; the midnight burnings, the wholesale massacres, the merciless tortures, the abominations not to be named by Christian lips in the hearing of Christian ears,—some of which, too unutterably atrocious for the English language, are of necessity veiled in the obscurity of the Latin tongue. Allow me to read you a few sentences which can be read from the historian of these events:

"In the town itself, the general belief for some time was, that the revolt was by no means an extensive one, but a sudden and partial insurrection only. The largest sugar plantation on the plain was that of Mons. Gallifet, situated about eight miles from the town, the negroes belonging to which had always been treated with such kindness and liberality and possessed so many advantages, that it became a proverbial expression among the lower white people, in speaking of any man's good fortune, to say, *il est heureux comme un negre de Gallifet* (he is as happy as one of M. Gallifet's negroes). M. Odeluc, an attorney, or agent, for this plantation, was a member of the General Assembly, and being fully persuaded that the negroes belonging to it would remain firm in their obedience, determined to repair thither to encourage them in opposing the insurgents; to which end he desired the assistance of a few soldiers from the town guard, which was granted him. He proceeded accordingly, but on approaching the estate, to his surprise and grief, he found all the negroes in arms on

the side of the rebels, and (horrid to tell) *their standard was the body of a white infant, which they had recently impaled on a stake!* Mr. Odeluc had advanced too far to retreat undiscovered, and both he and a friend who had accompanied him, with most of the soldiers, were killed without mercy. Two or three only of the patrol escaped by flight, and conveyed the dreadful tidings to the inhabitants of the town.

By this time, all or most of the white persons who had been found on the several plantations, being massacred or forced to seek their safety in flight, the ruffians exchanged the sword for the torch. The buildings and cane-fields were everywhere set on fire; and the conflagrations, which were visible from the town, in a thousand different quarters, furnished a prospect more shocking, and reflections more dismal, than fancy can paint, or the powers of man describe."

Such, Sir, as a matter of history, is a servile insurrection. Now let us cast a glance at the state of things in the Southern States, co-members as they are with us in this great republican confederacy. Let us consider over what sort of a population it is, that some persons among us think it not only right and commendable, but in the highest degree heroic, saint-like, god-like, to extend the awful calamity, which turned St. Domingo into a heap of bloody ashes in 1791. There are between three and four millions of the colored race scattered through the Southern and Southwestern States, in small groups, in cities, towns, villages, and in larger bodies on isolated plantations; in the house, the factory, and the field; mingled together with the dominant race in the various pursuits of life; the latter amounting in the aggregate to eight or nine millions, if I rightly recollect the numbers. Upon this community, thus composed, it was the design of Brown to let loose the hell-hounds of a servile insurrection, and to bring on a struggle which for magnitude, atrocity, and horror, would have stood alone in the history of the world. And these eight or nine millions, against whom this frightful war was levied, are our fellow-citizens, entitled with us to the protection of that compact of government, which recognizes their relation to the colored race,—a compact which every sworn officer of the Union or of the States is bound by his oath to support! Among them, Sir, is a fair proportion of men and women of education and culture,—of moral and religious lives and characters,—virtuous fathers, mothers, sons, and daughters, persons who would adorn any station of society, in any country,—men who read the same Bible that we do, and in the name of the same Master, kneel at the throne of the same God,—forming a class of men from which have gone forth some of the greatest and purest characters which adorn our history,—Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Marshall. These are the men, the women, for whose bosoms pikes and rifles are manufactured in New England, to be placed in the hands of an ignorant subject race, supposed, most wrongfully, as recent events have shown, to be waiting only for an opportunity to use them!

Sir, I have on three or four different occasions in early life and more recently, visited all the Southern and Southwestern States, with the exception of Arkansas and Alabama. I have enjoyed the hospitality of the city and the country; and I

have had the privilege before crowded and favoring audiences, to hold up the character of the Father of his Country, and to inculcate the blessings of the Union, in the same precise terms in which I have done it here at home, and in the other portions of the land. I have been admitted to the confidence of the domestic circle, and I have seen there touching manifestations of the kindest feelings, by which that circle, in all its members, high and low, master and servant, can be bound together; and when I contemplate the horrors that would have ensued had the tragedy on which the curtain rose at Harper's Ferry been acted out, through all its scenes of fire and sword, of lust and murder, of rapine and desolation, to the final catastrophe, I am filled with emotions to which no words can do justice. There could of course be but one result, and that well deserving the thoughtful meditation of those, if any such there be, who think that the welfare of the colored race could by any possibility be promoted by the success of such a movement, and who are willing to purchase that result by so costly a sacrifice. The colored population of St. Domingo amounted to but little short of a half a million, while the whites amounted to only thirty thousand. The white population of the Southern States alone, in the aggregate outnumbers the colored race in the ratio of two to one; in the Union at large in the ratio of seven to one; and if (which Heaven avert) they should be brought into conflict, it could end only in the extermination of the latter after scenes of woe, for which language is too faint; and for which the liveliest fancy has no adequate images of horror.

Such being the case, some one may ask why does not the South fortify herself against the possible occurrence of such a catastrophe, by doing away with the one great source from which alone it can spring? This is a question easily asked, and I am not aware that it is our duty at the North to answer it; but it may be observed that great and radical changes in the framework of Society, involving the relations of twelve millions of men, will not wait on the bidding of an impatient philanthropy. They can only be brought about in the lapse of time, by the steady operation of physical, economical, and moral causes. Have those, who rebuke the South for the continuance of slavery, considered that neither the present generation nor the preceding one is responsible for its existence? The African slave trade was prohibited by Act of Congress fifty-one years ago, and many years earlier by the separate Southern States. The entire colored population, with the exception, perhaps, of a few hundreds surreptitiously introduced, is native to the soil. Their ancestors were conveyed from Africa in the ships of Old England and New England. They now number between three and four millions. Has any person, of any party or opinion, proposed, in sober earnest, a practical method of wholesale emancipation? I believe most persons, in all parts of the country, are of opinion, that free labor is steadily gaining ground. It would in my judgment have already prevailed in the two northern tiers of the slaveholding States, had its advances not been unhappily retarded by the irritating agitations of the day. But has any person, whose opinion is entitled to the slightest respect,

ever undertaken to sketch out the details of a plan for effecting the change at once, by any legislative measure that could be adopted? Consider only, I pray you, that it would be to ask the South to give up one thousand millions of property, which she holds by a title satisfactory to herself, as the first step. Then estimate the cost of an adequate outfit for the self support of the emancipated millions; then reflect on the derangement of the entire industrial system of the South, and all the branches of commerce and manufactures that depend on its great staples; then the necessity of conferring equal political privileges on the emancipated race, who being free would be content with nothing less, if anything less were consistent with our political system; then the consequent organization of two great political parties on the basis of color, and the eternal feud which would rage between them; and finally the overflow into the free States of a vast multitude of needy and helpless emigrants, who, being excluded from many of them (and among others from Kansas,) would prove doubly burdensome, where they are admitted. Should we, sir, with all our sympathy for the colored race (and I do sincerely sympathize with them, and to all whom chance throws in my way, I have through life extended all the relief and assistance in my power), give a very cordial reception to two or three hundred thousand destitute emancipated slaves? Does not every candid man see, that every one of these steps presents difficulties of the most formidable character,—difficulties for which, as far as I know, no man and no party has proposed a solution? And is it, sir, for the attainment of objects so manifestly impracticable, pursued, too, by the bloody pathways of treason and murder, that we will allow the stupendous evil which now threatens us, to come upon the country? Shall we permit this curiously compacted body politic, the nicest adjustment of human wisdom, to go to pieces? Will we blast this beautiful symmetric form; paralyze this powerful arm of public strength; smite with imbecility this great National Intellect? Where, sir, O where, will be the flag of the United States! Where our rapidly increasing influence in the family of nations! Already they are rejoicing in our divisions. The last foreign journal which I have read, in commenting upon the event at Harper's Ferry, dwells upon it as something that "will compel us to keep the peace with the powers of Europe," and that means to take the law from them in our international relations.

I meant to have spoken of the wreck of that magnificent and mutually beneficial commercial intercourse which now exists between the producing and manufacturing States;—of the hostile tariffs in time of peace and the habitually recurring border wars, by which it will be annihilated. I meant to have said a word of the Navy of the United States; and the rich inheritance of its common glories. Shall we give up this? The memory of our Fathers—of those happy days when the men of the North and South stood together for the country, on hard fought fields; when the South sent her Washington to Massachusetts, and New England sent her Greene to Carolina—is all this forgotten? "Is all the coun-

sel that we two have shared;" all the joint labors to found this great Republic;—is this "all forgot?" and will we permit this last great experiment of Confederate Republicanism, to become a proverb and a bye-word to the Nations? No, fellow-citizens, no, a thousand times no! This glorious Union shall not perish! Precious legacy of our Fathers, it shall go down, honored and cherished to our children. Generations unborn shall enjoy its privileges as we have done, and if we leave them poor in all besides, we will transmit to them the boundless wealth of its blessings!

Speech of Gen. Caleb Cushing.

President LINCOLN said:

Fellow Citizens,—Another of our most eminent and distinguished fellow citizens who has entitled himself to your confidence and honor, as well as to that of the whole country, by great services rendered in different departments of the State and of the Union, will favor you with his thoughts and counsels upon the momentous subject which occupies your attention. I have the pleasure of inviting to the platform Gen. Cushing.

Gen. Cushing, thus introduced, was received with thunders of applause. He proceeded to speak as follows:

Speech of Hon. Caleb Cushing.

Mr. President: I rejoice that to you, sir, on this occasion, all speech is in the first instance to be addressed,—to you, the living representative of a name ever honored in the councils of this State and of the United States, and of blood sanctified, generation after generation, by the red baptism of the battle-field (applause) to you, who, called from the retirement of years at the voice of your country's peril, stand in your venerable white hairs, lifted by age far above those interests and passions that may move us lesser men, and stand there as a monumental marble statue of the better days of the Republic (loud applause), the fit patriot to preside over this great assemblage of the aroused and uprising patriotism of Massachusetts. (Renewed applause.) Oh, sir, that Webster and Choate were here! (Applause.) Oh, that Webster were here, to utter words of wisdom in those grave tones of his, like the deep cloud voices of the sky! Oh, that Choate were here, to stream upon you the flashes of his mind, like the lightning of that sky! Oh, that Webster and Choate were here, as, if living, they would be, to rebuke treason together; to hurl upon its foul head the blazing thunderbolts of their scorn, their indignation, and their wrath! (tumultuous cheering, and cries of "Good," "Good"), and to proclaim trumpet-tongued, to earth and to heaven, the fraternal sympathy of the brave old Commonwealth of Massachusetts for the brave old Commonwealth of Virginia. (Renewed applause.) Oh for an hour of Webster and Choate! Alas, alas, they are gone; but on you, sir, (addressing

Mr. Everett) their companion and their friend, their mantle has descended, and nobly do you wear it this day. (Applause.) Most nobly do you wear it, as, in such thoughts and words of transcendent eloquence as you alone of living men command (cheers), you have spoken here for the peace and for the honor of Massachusetts. For me—what remains? A humble part on this great occasion.

Now, fellow-citizens, let me turn to you. And before addressing to you those reflections which occur to me as pertinent to the occasion, permit me to offer a word of personal preface. Let me assure you, most solemnly, that no possible thought brings me here apart from the performance of my duty to myself, in the attempt, at least, to utter worthy thoughts in behalf of the tarnished honor of Massachusetts. For that, and for that alone, I stood upon this platform two years ago, and I endeavored to show to the people of Massachusetts, that this great Republic, the glory of modern civilization, that this great Republic, amid the criminations and recriminations, North and South, amid the conflict of interest and passions which were shaking it to its centre, seemed to be on the point of committing national suicide, in a transport of national madness. I endeavored to show you how it was that a handful of highly intellectual but most misguided men in this State of Massachusetts, animated with the monomania of fanatical devotion to one single idea, had poisoned the consciences and corrupted the judgments of so many of their fellow-citizens in this Commonwealth. I showed you how, under the influence of their malign teachings, all party action, North and South, was running in the channel of a desperate and deplorable sectionalism, and that, above all, here in Massachusetts, all the political influences dominant in this State were founded upon the single emotion of hate. Aye, *hate*—treacherous, ferocious, fiendish *hate*—of our fellow-citizens in the Southern States. (Applause, and cries of "good," "good"). And I pleaded to you conciliation, mutual forbearance, reconciliation of conflicting interests, in order that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts might resume her appropriate place as the guide of the patriotism of these United States. I pleaded unsuccessfully. I entered the Legislature of Massachusetts, there to combat this sectionalism in the seat of its power. I failed of success. I said to myself, in a moment of despondency, Why struggle in vain? Why draw upon myself the odium of my fellow citizens by struggling in vain against this malign influence? What are time and tide to me? I can play my part in the drama of life, whether it be peace or war (cheers); and if these misguided passions are to bring upon our happy land the calamity of civil war, devastation, massacre, ruin, God will provide me a duty to perform, and the head and the hand to do and to suffer, according to the will of His good providence. (Applause.)

But, gentlemen, it seemed to me still that there was hope. I resolved to try the experiment, and see whether or not the heart of Massachusetts was sound. I undertook the defence of three of my fellow-citizens, indicted by the State of Massachusetts, for the voluntary rendition of a fu-

gitive from service found in their custody,—that is, for the performance of what they thought to be a duty to the Constitution of the United States and to their country, although in violation of the unconstitutional law and unconstitutional opinion of the State of Massachusetts [cheers]; and there, in that humble village court-house at Barnstable, there, in the presence of that upright judge, of that conscientious jury, I did find that the heart of the Commonwealth was sound to the core, [great cheering]; that it needed only that men should be reasoned with frankly, undisguisedly, in order to dispel from their minds those delusions of one-idea fanaticism which seem to be hurrying the Commonwealth and hurrying the Union into the unfathomable abyss of destruction. And now, fellow-citizens, as I stand here, as I see here a representation of the intelligence, of the wisdom, of the virtue, of the strong hearts and strong hands of the people of Massachusetts, hope and confidence return to my heart. [Applause.] All is not lost. Nay, nothing is lost, with such sentiments, with such feelings as are this day exhibited in Faneuil Hall. [Renewed applause.]

Now, gentlemen, to my own humble task.

Fellow-citizens—A citizen of one of the Northern States of this Union, at the head of other citizens, on a certain Lord's Day, on that day of holy rest, entered armed—armed for murder and treason—entered armed, I say, into the State of Virginia, burst open the houses of private citizens, and seized them and their property by force, and slaughtered in the streets inoffensive, unarmed men. He undertook then and there to establish a revolutionary government, and proposed to arouse there, to kindle there, those flames of civil and servile war, and to bring upon that peaceful community and State all those horrors of massacre, desolation, devastation, rapine and ravishment which are sure to follow in the train of a civil and servile war. So engaged, he was arrested in the very act of blood, red-handed, with his murdered victims at his feet, and held to trial by the justice of the Commonwealth of Virginia. He was deliberately carried before a court of examining magistrates; he was, in the due course of law, presented to the grand jury of the county; he was by that grand jury indicted and arraigned before the courts of the State. Before those courts he received not only justice, not only merciful treatment, but even more than, in the ordinary course of the administration of justice, is granted to prisoners in this Commonwealth. He had such counsel assigned to him as he chose; he had those counsel changed at his will for other counsel, and he was deliberately and fully tried, and upon that full and deliberate trial, he was convicted of the violation of the laws of the State of Virginia with deliberate malice aforethought; and upon upon that conviction he was sentenced, and upon that sentence he was executed by the authorities of the State of Virginia. (Applause, and cries of "Good," "Good.") He was executed as having justly forfeited his life to the peace and the laws of Virginia. Nay, in anticipation of this, he enjoyed all possible resources of argument and investigation of the law, to see if there were any defect in the proceedings of the trial, and all such

questions of law as his counsel—able and learned men—found to be competent, were carried to the highest court of appeal of the Commonwealth of Virginia, and there considered. I say to you, gentlemen, that upon these facts, John Brown was duly and lawfully tried, convicted, sentenced and executed (applause); that he rendered up a forfeited life to the justice of the State of Virginia:—unless, gentlemen, it were the fact—for no other possible question of law could stand in the way,—that the State of Virginia had not jurisdiction of the offence committed. If the State of Virginia had jurisdiction, then her determination of the question was final and unappealable on this earth. That is the law of the land, that is the law of the State of Massachusetts; and there are very many gentlemen here who well remember when some years ago, a prisoner was capitally convicted in the State of Massachusetts, on due trial before our courts, how indignant the people of Massachusetts were that certain persons and journals of the States of New York and Pennsylvania should presume insolently to question the legality of this action of the courts of Massachusetts. It was for us to determine that question, we said, and we said truly; that is the fundamental principle of state sovereignty—our indisputable right to try a criminal found red-handed on our own soil, violating the laws of the State.

Was there conflicting jurisdiction in this case? Gentlemen, it happened to me, when administering the laws of the United States, to render an opinion that the armory at Harper's Ferry is under the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States, and in no part of the jurisdiction of the State of Virginia. That opinion was true. I know it. I know it as well as I know the multiplication table, or that the square of the hypotenuse of a right angled triangle is equal to the square of the two sides. [Loud applause.] I know it of absolute knowledge. Now, then, at the opening of the trial of John Brown, his counsel said that this opinion was incompatible with the progress of the trial, inasmuch as John Brown must be indicted in the courts of the United States, and could not be tried in the courts of Virginia. To this point of law, founded upon my opinion, the counsel for the Commonwealth replied, improbably, inconsiderately, unwisely, that my opinion was not good law; that it might be good law in Massachusetts, but it was not good law in Virginia; and thereupon the trial proceeded. I say that was an ill-advised suggestion on the part of the counsel for the Commonwealth, because it created the impression through the Northern States that Virginia had really usurped the power of the United States. For the law did not rest upon my opinion. There were adjudications of court after court throughout the Union which established it as law, not in Massachusetts only, but throughout the United States, wherever land has been purchased for federal uses with consent of the State. I say, therefore, it was an ill-advised suggestion of counsel. Gentlemen, if such had been the issue on trial, I say here, what in private I have said to others, I myself would have done that most invidious thing for me to do,—I would have gone to the State of Virginia, I would have appealed

to Judge Parker, of the Circuit Court, to Senators Mason and Hunter, and to Governor Wise, of Virginia,—I would have appealed to them, by every consideration of old and long friendship and respect, I would have appealed to their reverence for the laws, I would have appealed to their sense of honor and regard, not to the United States only, but to the Commonwealth of Virginia, to desist from that procedure. Nay, I would have gone one step further; I would have presented myself before the Chief Justice of the United States, and I would have obtained from Roger B. Taney a writ of error to appeal that question to the tribunals of the United States. [Applause.] Why did I not? Gentlemen, a day or two dissipated all the mists of this imaginary question of jurisdiction. True; acts of murder, acts, if you please, of treason, acts of burglary, acts of rapine, had been perpetrated upon the grounds of the Armory at Harper's Ferry, but not there only; for John Brown, in this most insane—whatever may be said of the character of the man—most criminal outrage, had been guilty of half a dozen violations of law, three of them, at least, capital felonies by the laws of the State of Virginia. He had perpetrated burglary, robbery, incitement to sedition, treason, murder—three, at least, I say, capital felonies; and each one of those capital felonies, whatever other felonies he may have committed within the limits of Harper's Ferry Armory, he had perpetrated *outside the limits* of Harper's Ferry Armory, and in the sole and exclusive jurisdiction of the Commonwealth of Virginia. [Applause.] That was the law of this case; and I now, therefore, say to you, gentlemen—I say it upon my judgment as a jurist, I say it on my honor as a man—that John Brown was duly and lawfully convicted, in full course of law; that whatever forms were involved, they were for the exclusive determination of the State of Virginia; and there was no substantial controversy either of law or of fact, for there was no imaginable doubt of the guilt of the prisoner. Who says John Brown was not guilty? Who says he did not commit burglary? Who says he did not perpetrate invasion and treason? Who says he did not slay unarmed, inoffensive men in the streets of Harper's Ferry? No man denies this. Nay, instead of denying this, all that is said and done in regard to that is to assume that those acts of atrocious, ferocious felony were *meritorious* acts! I say, then, gentlemen, all honor to the State of Virginia, [loud applause, and cries of "good," "good!"]—to her judicial authorities, and to her executive authorities; all honor to the State of Virginia that this traitor and murderer, apprehended in the very act of murder and treason, was calmly, duly, fully, and lawfully tried and convicted according to the law of the land, not alone of the State of Virginia, but of every one of the States of the Union. (Applause.)

But then, gentlemen, in these most extraordinary manifestations which have occurred in the State of Massachusetts and elsewhere—prayer meetings, public assemblies of rejoicing and of pretended subscription (laughter and applause)—in all these, it is said there is extenuation (if there be not other suggestions) applicable to the case, which should change our appreciation of the character of the acts of John Brown.

"Extenuation?" What extenuation? Gentlemen, we have been told that John Brown was maddened to perform those acts by a sense of the wrong committed upon him, in the violent death of one of his sons in Kansas. That is a question of fact. Is it so, gentlemen? Fellow citizens, we live here in a populous Commonwealth, with all the securities of life and peace around us, under the shelter, not only of the laws, but of our relations to our fellow citizens. But go with me to one of those fertile prairies of the far West; go with me to the frontier cabin of a pioneer settler in the far West. There, gentlemen, in the dead of night, the husband reposing in the arms of his beloved wife, with their dear little ones around them, in the fancied repose of their common safety under the laws of their country, they are aroused from their slumbers by the treacherous approach of armed assassins. The husband—two husbands,—are torn from the arms of their wives, and ruthlessly slaughtered in cold blood. Nay, their youthful children are brained before their eyes. Methinks I can hear now the wailing cry of that poor woman, Mahala Doyle—of that unhappy Louisa Wilkinson—that wailing cry should smite upon the ears and enter the hearts of every one of us—as they cling to the limbs of the assassin and pray for the deliverance of their husbands and their children. But they spoke to a merciless heart, for they spoke to John Brown! (A voice—"That has been denied.") I say, gentlemen, deny it who will, and who dare, *that man was John Brown*. (Loud cheers.) He was there, his sword dripping with the gore of those slaughtered, inoffensive, peaceful, slumbering men and children—and that sword came from the State of Massachusetts. I say that is proved. It is proved by incontrovertible evidence. That evidence exists on record in the report of the committee appointed by the House of Representatives to examine into the disorders in Kansas, and has not been denied, nay, has again and again been impliedly admitted, by John Brown himself. I say, that murderous act of John Brown was the deliberate initiation of civil war in Kansas. And by the lurid light of those blazing houses, and by the reflection of the demoniac cruelty of that man on that occasion—by all that, we have the key to events which might otherwise have been yet wrapped in mystery. That is the commencement of civil war in these United States. And it was in that same spirit that John Brown, with an insane ferocity of cruelty, proposed to consign the peaceful inhabitants of the State of Virginia, the millions and millions of white men and white women to servile insurrection and civil war, and to outrages indescribable, impossible to be imagined, worse than a million deaths.

But it is said that John Brown was insane, and therefore that he should not have been convicted. Was he insane? Gentlemen, I have many times had occasion in this Commonwealth,—all reflecting men have had occasion,—to consider a similar question. I cannot meet it here without speaking plainly. Shall I speak plainly? [General cries of "Yes," "Yes."] I say, in this Commonwealth of Massachusetts and in the adjoining State of New York, there is a handful of men of highly intellectual

mind, of the highest culture, literary and scientific, men who would seem to be born to bless their day and generation—such as Wendell Phillips, Lloyd Garrison, Waldo Emerson, Theodore Parker, and Gerrit Smith—who by constant brooding upon one single idea—that idea if you please a right one, abstractly—have come to be monomaniacs of that idea, [applause,] and so have become utterly lost to the moral relations of right and wrong. In their private relations not one of them would injure the hair even of my head. [Laughter.] Not one of them, unless upon the question of slavery; and then such is the atrocious ferocity of mind into which they have been betrayed by this monomania, that they declare in so many words, and therefore I may say it is so, their readiness to break down all laws, human and divine,—nay, that under the influence of this monomania they have set up in this Commonwealth a public policy of assassination and a religion of hate—aye, a religion of hate, such as belongs only to the condemned devils in hell, [applause.] I say it is a religion of hate, and of blasphemy,—oh God! that such things are in this our day. They have set up this religion of hate, and they blasphemously call that Christianity. I put this question to you—whether these demoniac passions and this truculent ferocity of pretended philanthropy upon the subject of slavery institutions have not stifled in them all there is of good in the human heart, and all there is of divine in the aspirations of human hearts to God and to Heaven. This they have done, and the question is properly asked, are they sane? I cannot pronounce on that subject. What would a commission of lunacy say to it? I know not. I know that the imputed insanity of John Brown is that his intelligence has become perverted, that his heart is gangrened, that his soul is steeled against everything human and conscientious by that same monomania, which pervades the speeches and writings of Wendell Phillips and Waldo Emerson. Are they insane? I say again, I know not, and yet I pause in charity, for have we not now before us the spectacle, most painful to every well settled heart, have we not the spectacle of one of their number, as wise in his day and generation as they, with the same ostentatious pretences of good and of right, and the same crazy perversion of Christianity and the Bible—have we not before us the spectacle of Gerrit Smith in a hospital for lunatics in the State of New York? (Profound silence.) And I do say, that unless all monomaniac Abolitionists are to be deemed insane and incapable of distinguishing between right and wrong, in a question of murder and of treason and of burglary and of robbery, then John Brown was not insane, and therefore was not entitled to any consideration upon that pretext. And we know well that he would have been the last to assume any such pretext; we know well that he acted with that stolid indifference to the atrocity of his acts, which in all time has distinguished political and religious assassins—which may be found in the character of Guy Fawkes, and which animated the Ravailles and the Jacques Clements of France. The same spirit distinguished

the assassins of Italy, who, to prevent the progress of moderate reform, and to substitute their own monomania, slaughtered Rossi at the steps of the Vatican. In Vienna the good Count Lemborg, and in Prague the Princess Windischgratz, were assassinated in the same insane spirit of proposed political and social reform. That is the distinctive quality of these offences. The idea of John Brown is that by cold-blooded, fraudulent, midnight assassination, he is to promote the reform of the institutions of the State of Virginia and of the Southern States. And these assassins die *game*. Does that make them good men? So, gentlemen, I now say, that not only was John Brown duly and legally tried and convicted, but that he was duly and lawfully executed, and rendered up a justly forfeited life to the justice of the State of Virginia. (Applause.)

What more, gentlemen? We have had our ears filled with alleged sympathies for John Brown, of apologies for his act, of reproaches against the persons whom he was endeavoring to slaughter in cold blood, of sneers at the State of Virginia, of ridicule of the terror felt by the unarmed women and children of Virginia. For it is not the men of Virginia,—it is the women,—it is the tender and sensitive *white* sisters of the women of Massachusetts,—who felt these terrors. For them the Abolitionists have no sympathy, but only for John Brown. Gentlemen, it is not sympathy for John Brown. It is another form of the manifestation of that same intense and ferocious hatred of the people of the South, which animates the persons of whom we are speaking (applause). Hatred—hatred! Now the fact has been told us that in all times hate must have its food of blood; aye, hate must have its food of blood. How long are the people of Massachusetts to have their souls continually perverted with these preachings, aye, pulpit preachings of hatred, though, thank God, these blasphemous preachers of hatred and treason are but one to a thousand among the admirable and revered clergymen of Massachusetts (applause). I ask you, gentlemen, how long these emotions of mutual hate are to go on without shedding blood. Blood has begun to be shed—in that worst possible form, of treacherous, malignant, cold-hearted midnight assassination;—nay, not only has there been shedding of blood, but that shedding of blood, coming from Northern States, has as its avowed object to propagate throughout the Southern States, revolution, servile and civil war, and universal devastation. Why, gentlemen, is not that war in disguise? Seek as you will to disguise it from your own thoughts, that is the thought in the hearts of those persons who entertain these emotions. It is war in disguise, and it presents this extraordinary fact, gentlemen,—such a fact as exists nowhere else upon this earth, in any civilized country. It presents the extraordinary fact that, whereas, if any citizen of Massachusetts should fit out a hostile expedition against Canada, should prepare arms in the city of Boston, should raise money and troops for the purpose of invading England or France, there is abundant law to punish that act, and to arrest the offender in the prosecution of the crime; but in this Union there is no law to punish the fact

that a citizen of Ohio, Pennsylvania or Massachusetts engages in fitting out an expedition of private war and invasion and bloodshed against the State of Virginia. There is no law to reach it. It would seem that our forefathers, in omitting to provide for such a contingency, had acted as we are told the old Republics did in regard to the crime of parricide; they did not believe that anything so abominable could occur in the United States, and therefore they provided no law to punish it. Now, gentlemen, what would you think, and what would be your condition, if such an invasion of slaughter and of murder were attempted by citizens of Virginia in Massachusetts? Would you not think it strange that you had no protection, by any law whatever, against such an act? that you were living in the Union, not to enjoy its benefits, but only to be subject to hostile inroads from other States? Would you not think that strange, extraordinary, incredible, intolerable? What would you say if that state of things went on year after year, even for a generation almost. What would you say if in the State of Virginia, there were organized bands of invaders, armed by subscription societies in Richmond, who entertained in their hearts such sentiments of philanthropic hatred towards you, as would cause them to plant those arms at your heart if they could reach it? Would you not say, gentlemen, any open war is better than such war in disguise? In open war we at least could meet our enemies face to face, and with the possible chance of a gallant death in brave encounter with the foe; but to be slaughtered treacherously at midnight, and to have no remedy for that by the laws of the land, gentlemen, that is an impossible state of things to continue in the United States.

And let us not lay the flattering unction to our souls that we may, in the State of Massachusetts, continue to organize expeditions of rapine and treason and assassination against the people of the State of Virginia,—I say, let us not lay that flattering unction to our souls. Nay, we ought not to do it. If we are men, if we have a spark of manliness in us, if we are not utterly corrupted, perverted and lost to every sense of truth and of honor, we shall say, and ought to say—it is mean, it is indescribably, unspeakably mean to insist upon enjoying the benefits of the Union without participating in its burdens; it is treacherous to demand the execution of the bond of Union by the State of Virginia, and not execute it ourselves; it is hypocritical to approach and say, “Art, thou well, my brother?” for the purpose of stabbing him under the fifth rib. I say, it would be mean, treacherous, hypocritical, to pretend that that state of things is to continue, and therefore we are here assembled to discountenance all such sentiments, all such passions, and all such criminal enterprises on the part of the people of the Northern States against those of the Southern.

We vaunt the greatness of the United States: our memories are filled with the reminiscences of the glories of the Revolution: we look back upon the Washingtons, the Greenes and the Lincolns of the days of the Revolution, and we say that these heroes and demigods are not the heroes and demigods of Virginia or

Massachusetts, but of the United States. We are one nation. We are one in constitutional bond: we should be one in heart and patriotic devotion. Shall we not be? Shall we in Massachusetts continue thus to nourish the sentiments of mutual rancor and hostility upon an abstract question wholly beyond our reach and authority? If we do so, gentlemen, we know well the consequences. We know that not only must this federal compact break by its own weight, we know not only that the time has come when we shall all have to say farewell to the glories of the Union, farewell to the vaunted glories of the American Union; but when there will be for us the more terrible and dismal spectacle of civil war upon our own soil in Massachusetts. For, gentlemen, when we look forward to the consequences of a disruption of this Union, is the North then to invade the South for the purpose of carrying on an armed prosecution of these projects of interference with the institutions of the South? Will the North undertake that? Gentlemen, if the North does not undertake that, it will have sacrificed every thing of peace and honor for a delusion and a shadow. Will the North do it? Let these men try. Gentlemen, are there not others,—gallant and patriotic men,—are there not others enough in the State of Massachusetts, who, if any such traitorous purpose should be attempted against the South, war of invasion for the destruction of the Union and the government of the Union—are there not men enough here to seize the traitors by the throat, [loud cries of “yes, yes,” and great applause,] and say, “You must walk over our bodies, you shall not otherwise engage in this fratricidal, suicidal, civil war with your fellow-citizens of other States!” I say, that whenever this state of things approaches, the war will not be upon Mason & Dixon’s line, but it will be here upon the soil of New England, and between those who hate the Constitution of the country, between those who declare that the Constitution is a covenant with the devil and a league with hell—I say, there will be war between them, and those who are devotedly attached to the Constitution, and determined at all hazards to maintain the Union. [Applause.]

Now, gentlemen, I have long enough occupied your attention. I will, however, suggest one other train of thought of a practical nature appropriate to the circumstances which surround us now in the State of Massachusetts. Gentlemen, Mr. Everett has depicted to us the horrors of civil and servile war. We have seen what would come to us if this great and glorious Republic should, like others of the old time, explode under the convulsions of civil wrath, and go down in destruction and darkness to the realms of Erebus and Nox. We have seen the danger. Is there a remedy? Can we avert these evils? Can we contribute to avert them? We can, you can. Gentlemen, it is most remarkable in the present condition of the State of Massachusetts, that more than one-half of the registered voters of the Commonwealth do obstinately and persistently refuse to exercise the elective franchise; aye, more than one-half the registered voters of Massachusetts. And yet, the government of a state is that which the suffrages of its people provide. The public opinion of a state is that which a

majority, an apparent majority, of its people pronounce. What is the voice of a majority of the people of this State? I say, more than one-half of its registered voters have not, either in speech or act, expressed themselves. They seem to have commenced at last to discharge that great civil duty here to-day in Faneuil Hall. Will they go on from words to acts? Will they, by their acts, manifest their devotion and attachment to the honor of Massachusetts? Gentlemen, I speak here for no party. I have my own party prepossessions, strong enough, as you all know, but I say I speak for no party here. But I would that you, the 120,000 registered voters of Massachusetts who do not vote, and to whom belong the voice and vote of the State, would act, and not leave the government of the State, as you do, in the hands of 58,000 voters, less than one-fourth of the registered voters of the State. I would that you would act. If you do not like the opinions of either of the parties, now dividing the country, rise in the majesty of your strength, and crush them all! (Applause.) [A voice—They will do it at the proper time.] I shall rejoice, sir, at any party defeat which may befall me, so that the Commonwealth be restored to its proper place in that resplendent galaxy of the constellations of the Union.

Gentlemen, a band of drunken mutineers has seized hold of the political opinion of this Commonwealth,—avowed and proclaimed enemies of the Constitution of the United States; nay, equally clamorous enemies of the Constitution of the State of Massachusetts; for these same persons denounce, vituperate, and calumniate, with impartiality of wrath, both the parties which now divide the Commonwealth. Did not Wendell Phillips lately let out his heart in the infamous adjuration, "God damn Massachusetts?" I say, a band of drunken mutineers has seized hold of the control of the public opinion of the State. Where is the helmsman? Who is he? [A voice, "BURNHAM." This response excited shouts of laughter. So apt seemed the answer, that every man in the hall, ludicrous as it was, was for a moment thrown from his gravity.] Where, I ask, is the helmsman? Has he sold himself to the mutineers? No, gentlemen; but the mutineers stand with a pistol at his head, commanding him to obey or die! And so the good ship of state drifts on,—drifts, drifts, with the storm howling around her, drifts on towards the gulf of perdition, with the black flag of the pirate flying at the mizen: aye, and the piratical death's-head at the fore; black, black all over—from stem to stern and from truck to keelson. I say, the good ship of state drifts on to perdition. [Loud and prolonged applause.] And where are you, the citizens of Massachusetts, who should be her officers and crew? That good ship is freighted with all your earthly hopes—you and your wives and your dear children, are there as passengers, and you all sit in torpid apathy, or shameful indecision, or sullen despair. You sit and see the drunken mutineers, as they are about to blow up the ship and all it contains, and you do not move a hand to rescue her from ruin, and to carry her back to the path of peace and security. I appeal to you, citizens of Massachusetts, I implore you, to awake from this lethargy! Rise, I say, in the

majesty of your might, people of Massachusetts—rise in the majesty of your might, and redeem the honor and the fame of the good old Commonwealth. [Enthusiastic Cheering.]

THE INVITATION TO GEN. PIERCE.

BOSTON, Dec. 3, 1859.

Dear Sir,—In view of the present disturbed condition of public sentiment, and the dangers which threaten our Union, it is proposed that citizens of Massachusetts who honor and cherish the Union—who mean to maintain the Constitution of the United States and faithfully to carry out all its requirements and obligations, assemble in Faneuil Hall, on Thursday the eighth day of December, instant, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon.

Your presence on the proposed occasion would give especial gratification; and may we not hope that it will be possible for you to unite with your fellow citizens of all parties, who honor and cherish the Union, in this manifestation of devotion to the Constitution of the United States, and the continued peaceful prosperity of the Republic.

With great respect,

Your obedient servants,

WM. APPLETON,
FRANKLIN HAVEN,
HENRY J. GARDNER,
LEVERETT SALTONSTALL,
GEORGE LUNT,
JOHN T. HEARD,
S. T. DANA,
SIDNEY WERSTER,

} Executive Committee.

To the HON. FRANKLIN PIERCE.

LETTER FROM EX-PRESIDENT FRANKLIN PIERCE.

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, Esq., here read the following letter from Gen. PIERCE:

CONCORD, N. H., December 7, 1859.

Gentlemen: I am honored by the reception of your letter of the third instant, informing me that "it is proposed that citizens of Massachusetts, who honor and cherish the Union, who mean to maintain the Constitution of the United States, and faithfully to carry out all its requirements and obligations, assemble in Faneuil Hall, on Thursday, the eighth day of December instant;" and inviting me to be present on that occasion.

Twenty-five years ago, one would have asked involuntarily, upon reading a letter like that before me, what are the dangers which threaten the Union; where are the men who do not honor and cherish that Union, who do not "mean to maintain the Constitution of the United States, and faithfully to carry out all its requirements and obligations"? Could we not then, each for himself, have promptly answered,—the dangers, if they exist, are too remote, and the men too inconsiderable in numbers, and too wild and extravagant in the principles and purposes which they avow, to make them the cause of even serious consideration, much less of apprehension and disquietude.

How is it to-day? How is it to be to-morrow, when patriotic hearts will beat in unison in the old Cradle of Liberty, and patriotic lips will repeat the sentiments and doctrines which were enunciated there more than eighty years ago, while the men of Virginia were preparing their crude but trusty weapons, not espe-

cially to protect their own borders, which have now been ruthlessly invaded in violation of all law, human and divine, but to come to Massachusetts and mingle their blood with that of our fathers in defence of the common cause.

Undisputed requirements of the Constitution, affecting the rights, the security of life and property of the sons of Virginia's revolutionary men, are set at naught. Lessons inculcating disobedience to such requirements have been scattered broadcast in our community, and have borne their fruits, not merely in the exhibition of an insurrectionary spirit, but in an actual invasion of a sister State by an armed organization, the objects of which are not disguised. This is not all. The invasion, and the overt acts of treason and murder, are openly justified and applauded at large meetings of men and women in your midst.

This is a sad truth, but not disheartening. It may be well that circumstances have occurred to arouse us from our lethargy, and to compel us to open our eyes, as if from the delusion of a dream, to the nearness and magnitude of impending calamities. It is comparatively safe to look dangers in the face, and meet them on the advance, but fatal to be appalled by them.

I repeat that the aspect of affairs, dark as it confessedly is, still is not disheartening, because I believe there are in New England, and throughout the Middle and North Western States, multitudes of conscientious and patriotic citizens, moved, it may be at this moment, by sentiments differing widely from those which will animate you to-morrow, but who, nevertheless, would not wilfully and deliberately shake a single column which sustains the fabric of our existing institutions,—multitudes who have been misled upon the question of duty and personal obligations, and who now, when they have practical illustration, drawn in blood, of the teachings to which they have listened, and to which they may have given their assent, will pause, long enough, at least, to take counsel of intelligent reason.

You, upon the soil of Massachusetts, where the first blood of the revolution was shed, and where Washington took command of the Army in one of the darkest periods in our Country's history, cannot gaze listlessly upon the gathering clouds, and will not bow tamely before the coming storm. We may all have regarded with too much indifference the swelling tide of reckless fanaticism, but we are not too late to breast it now. If honest men, who really think the Union worth preserving, will stand forth in the majesty and strength of patriotism and law, and with united purpose and becoming energy, they can and will roll that tide back, to the dismay and discomfiture of all conspirators against the public peace, and the integrity of the sacred bond which holds us a united people.

I am glad to perceive that your meeting is to be composed of citizens of various parties. The high resolve and the solemn duty to which I have just adverted rise above the range of thoughts and motives which ordinarily connect themselves with political organization, and party success. If we are true to ourselves; if we revere the memory, or appreciate the services of our Fathers, we shall forget, in the exigency of this crisis, that there is, or ever has been, such thing as party in the ordinary acceptance of the term. At all events, we will forget it, until, through our steady, united efforts, we see the authority of the Constitution vindicated, and the Union reposing again securely upon its old foundations.

You are right in assuming that this is no time for hesitancy; no time for doubting, halting, half way professions, or, indeed, for mere professions of any kind. It is a time for resolute purpose, to be followed by decisive, consistent action.

Shall the fundamental law of the land be obeyed, not with evasive reluctance, but in good fidelity? Have we the power to enforce obedience to it, and will we exercise that power? If so, then may we con-

tinue to enjoy the multiplied and multiplying blessings of the peerless inheritance which has been transmitted to us. If otherwise, fanaticism has not mistaken the significance of its emblem,—*the national flag with "the Union down."* That flag has waved through three foreign wars, with the *Union up*; cheering the hearts of brave men, on sea and land, wherever its folds have unrolled in the smoke of battle! How many of our countrymen, as they have seen it floating from the mast-head in a foreign port, or giving its ample sweep to the breeze over a consular office, have proudly and exultingly exclaimed: "I am an American citizen, and there is the ensign which *commands* for me respect and security, wherever throughout the wide world I may roam, or wherever I may choose temporarily to dwell!" How one would shut his eyes, and cover his face in shame and sorrow, if he believed he were destined to see the day when that flag will float no more. And yet if agitators and conspirators can have their way, it must go *down* in darkness and blood. In a Republic like ours, law alone upholds it, and when that loses its power, all human power to save is lost. If such overwhelming disaster to humanity is to overtake us, I, for one, will not try to peer through the darkness and blackness, or to foreknow the end.

Let us act calmly and deliberately, without passion and without acrimony. Let us take no hasty or narrow view of the causes which have produced the dangers we would meet, and if possible avert. It is not the recent invasion of Virginia which should awaken our strongest apprehension, but the teachings, still vehemently persisted in, from which it sprang, with the inevitable necessity which evolves the effect from the cause.

So, again, it is to be remembered that those who boldly approve and applaud the acts of treason and murder perpetrated within the limits of Virginia, are not the most dangerous enemies of the Constitution and the Union. Subtle, crafty men, who, passing by duties and obligations, habitually appeal to sectional prejudices and passions, by denouncing the institutions and people of the South, and thus inflame the Northern mind to the pitch of resistance to the clear provisions of the fundamental law,—who, under plausible pretences, addressed to those prejudices and passions, pass local laws designed to evade Constitutional obligations, are really and truly, whether they believe it or not, the men who are hurrying us upon swift destruction.

Your reprobation of the ethical and political teachings which inspire this line of conduct, will, I am sure, be pronounced in tones so earnest that no man can mistake their import. You will show, on your part, readiness to give to fellow-citizen of other States such just legislation by Congress, as shall provide for the punishment, not only of actual invasion, but for the setting on foot of armed expeditions, and thus do what you may effectually to secure, by constitutional enactments, each State against violence from any other. I shall hope that your meeting will awaken a spirit, which will lead Massachusetts and Virginia to grasp again reciprocally the hand of affectionate sympathy and support—of love and honor—as they did in 1776, when, as the elder and more powerful of the colonies, they made up the issue of blood against the power of an unjust Parliament. Why should it not be so? Is there any cause of alienation, on our part, which did not exist at the formation of the Government? When have the people of the South invaded our territory, slain our people, or conveyed away our property? Why should not the authority of New Hampshire honor and cherish the authority of Mississippi? Are they not each sovereign, but yet are they not bound up together in the endearing bond of a common country? To establish upon a firm footing these relations between all the States what is required but cordial, loyal, manly recognition and enforcement, in spirit and in act, of all the requirements of the com-

fact entered into by the fathers who have passed to their reward? Can it be that there is, among any large portion of our people, North or South, settled purpose to accept the benefits, but deny the burthens of the Constitution? Have all sentiments of patriotism and honor perished together? If that time has come, or you discern its approach, then, indeed, should you, who desire to live under this Constitution, expounded by the august tribunal into whose charge our fathers gave its exposition, raise the voice of warning, and save, if it be possible, the voice of woe. But it has not come, and it is still in your power to say it shall not. There is no inevitable, irresistible impulse hurrying it forward.

I deny, in the name of all that is most sacred and precious in our inheritance, that there is an element of "irrepressible conflict" between the Southern and Northern members of this confederation. The doctrine is as unsound and untrue as it is fearful. It is contradicted by the unbroken experience of the first fifty years of our history. It would have been the price of the loss of reputation for life, to have uttered it while the men who fought the battles of the revolution, and framed the Constitution were yet alive. No! It has not come, and with the blessing of God, upon the exertions of good and patriotic men, it will never be nearer.

I have faith in the power of your efforts, my fellow citizens,—faith that your example, in this relation, will be followed, and your action imitated, not only in other parts of Massachusetts, but by citizens of other States, who appreciate the blessings which the Constitution has conferred upon them, and who, come what may, intend on their native soil, and with their children around them, to claim its protection and uphold its authority. I have faith, above all, that the continued favor of the God of our fathers, who watched over our feeble political beginnings, who preserved us through the innumerable perils of the struggle for nationality, will yet make the wrath of man subservient to the peace and durability of this Union.

With thanks for your remembrance of me on this occasion, and regrets that it is impossible for me to meet you in Faneuil Hall, I am, gentlemen, very truly,

Your friend,
FRANKLIN PIERCE.

Hon. WM. APPLETON, FRANKLIN HAVEN, HENRY J. GARDNER, LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, GEORGE LUNT, JOHN T. HEARD, S. T. DANA, SIDNEY WEBSTER,	} Executive Committee.
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THE COMMITTEE'S INVITATION.

BOSTON, Dec. 3, 1859.

SIR,—The undersigned, on behalf of the Executive Committee, respectfully invite you to be present at a Public Meeting, to be held at FANEUIL HALL, in this City, on THURSDAY NEXT, December 8, at 11 o'clock, A. M., to express National Sentiments, in view of the growing division of feeling between the Northern and Southern parts of the Union.

It is the desire of the Committee, that you should permit your name to be used as that of one of the Vice Presidents. An immediate reply is requested.

Your obedient servants,

WM. APPLETON,
FRANKLIN HAVEN,
GEORGE LUNT,
SIDNEY WEBSTER,
HENRY J. GARDNER,
LEVERETT SALTONSTALL.

We give here a portion of the letters received by the Committee:

LETTER FROM GOVERNOR MORTON.

TAUNTON, Dec. 5, 1859. }
Monday Evening }

Gentlemen,—Your communication of 3d instant, notifying me of a Public Meeting to be holden in Faneuil Hall, on Thursday next, has just been received. No political subject can be of deeper interest to all the people of the United States, than the one which you propose to discuss; and no place better calculated to evoke liberal and patriotic sentiments in its consideration. It would give me great pleasure to join in the proceedings, and to perform any part to the best of my power, which might promote the spirit of union. But my present infirmities deny me the pleasure of joining in your assemblage, or any other very numerous meeting.

With my most fervent prayers, for the suppression of any "growing division of feeling between different sections or individuals of our country," I am, with high consideration and respect, for those whom you represent, as well as yourselves,

Your obedient servant,
MARCUS MORTON.

LETTER FROM GOVERNOR CLIFFORD.

NEW BEDFORD, Dec. 5, 1859.

Gentlemen,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your invitation "to be present at a public meeting to be held at Faneuil Hall on Thursday next, to express national sentiments in view of the growing division of feeling between the Northern and Southern parts of the Union," and "to permit my name to be used as that of one of the Vice Presidents."

With the object of the proposed meeting, as expressed in your note, I heartily sympathise, and my name is quite at its service. But as a professional engagement for that day may render it impossible for me to be present, I desire to state very briefly through this medium, the views I should feel it to be my duty to express if I participated in its proceedings.

I think it is clearly the duty of every Northern man, who has patriotism enough to embrace in his regards the whole of our common country, and who is unwilling to be ranked with the sympathisers and abettors of murder and rapine, and an unprovoked interference with the peace and safety of a sister State, to do what he can to disabuse the minds of our fellow-citizens of the South of the impression that this class of persons comprises any considerable portion of the people of the Northern States. I deeply regret that there should be found any amongst us, so regardless of all law, human and divine, and so wanting in a just and generous spirit of loyalty to the Union and the Constitution, as to give the countenance of their silence, even, much more of their vituperative speech, to the recent atrocious incursion of a band of marauders and murderers into the State of Virginia.

To every one who participated in that enormous crime, whether by action, or by counsel, the sentence of the law, fairly administered, whenever and wherever it can reach him, is equal and exact justice—and nothing more.

But in withholding our sympathy and support from those in the North who would imperil the Union of these States by such acts as tend directly to its dissolution, we have the right to claim from our fellow-citizens of the South, that their sympathy and support shall not be given to those whose official declarations of treason actually threaten its dissolution. Especially when the ground on which such a threat is uttered is that recently assigned by the Governor of South Carolina, as a new test of ineligibility to the office of

President, not found in the Constitution of the United States.

Both these classes of persons, North and South, or wherever their disloyal sentiments are manifested, must be equally and unsparingly condemned, by all true-hearted lovers of their country and their whole country, whose resolves of unswerving fidelity to the Union and the Constitution, I trust will go forth with healing and invigorating power from your gathering at Faneuil Hall.

I am, gentlemen,
With great respect,
Your friend and fellow-citizen,
JOHN H. CLIFFORD.

LETTER FROM SAMUEL L. CROCKER.

TAUNTON, Dec. 5, 1859.

Gentlemen,—I had the honor duly to receive your note of invitation to be present at a public meeting to be held at Faneuil Hall on Thursday next, to express national sentiments, in view of the growing division of feeling, between the Northern and Southern parts of the Union. The object has my most cordial approval, and you are at liberty to use my name in any way you may deem best, for its furtherance.

Very respectfully,
Your obdt serv't,
SAM. L. CROCKER.

LETTER FROM PROFESSOR FELTON.

CAMBRIDGE, Dec. 3, 1859.

Gentlemen,—I entirely approve of the proposed meeting in Faneuil Hall. The object of it must commend itself to good men of all parties. If it were a common political meeting, I should decline to have my name presented for any office connected with it; but the purpose for which the meeting is to be called, infinitely transcends any of the questions at issue in the politics of the day, and concerns every citizen who desires to preserve the constitution and the government, and to save the country from civil war.

Regarding the subject in this light, I feel it my duty to comply with your request, and to "permit my name to be used as that of one of the Vice Presidents," should it continue to be the desire of the Committee.

Very truly yours,
C. C. FELTON.

LETTER FROM N. J. LORD.

SALEM, Dec. 5, 1859.

Gentlemen,—I this morning received your invitation "to be present at a public meeting to be held at Faneuil Hall on Thursday next, to express national sentiments in view of the growing division of feeling between the Northern and Southern parts of the Union." I accept the invitation with the greatest pleasure, and rejoice that an opportunity is given to me to unite with my fellow-citizens in the North, in the assurance to our brethren in the South, that the feelings which dictated the compromises of the Constitution still continue to actuate us and lead us to preserve and to transmit unimpaired to posterity, that precious legacy, which we received from our fathers, and to perform all the duties which it devolves upon us. Use my name for that of one of the Vice-Presidents, as you desire, or for any other purpose to carry out the object of the meeting. Respectfully your obdt serv't,

N. J. LORD.

LETTER FROM B. FLINT KING.

CONCORD, Dec. 6, 1859.

Gentlemen,—Your letter of invitation to be present at a meeting of National Men at Faneuil Hall, on the

8th inst, has been just received. Believing that the time has again arrived when a demonstration of confidence in the Constitution of our Country and in Republican government is calculated to strengthen and secure them, because demagogues have again put them in peril, I accept the invitation and the position you do me the honor to assign me, with much satisfaction, and remain, gentlemen, your obliged humble servant,

B. FLINT KING.

LETTER FROM A. PHELPS, JR.

SPRINGFIELD, Dec. 5, 1859.

Hon. Wm. Appleton. Sir,—By letter dated Boston, Dec. 3, 1859, purporting to be signed by you and other gentlemen constituting an Executive Committee, I am requested to permit my name to be used as that of one of the Vice-Presidents of a public meeting to be held at Faneuil Hall on the 8th inst, "to express national sentiments in view of the growing division of feeling between the Northern and Southern parts of the Union." Inasmuch as I cordially concur in the object of the meeting I am very willing to have my name used as suggested, and I shall endeavor to be present to hear patriotic sentiments uttered which will, I trust, be reiterated throughout the Free States, and will satisfy our Southern brethren that the whole North is not smitten with the miserable negro-phobia which so seriously threatens a dissolution of the existing federal compact. Respectfully yours,

A. PHELPS, JR.

LETTER FROM LORENZO SABINE.

BOSTON, Dec. 5, 1859.

Gentlemen,—Your note of the 3d inst, this moment received, and I promptly reply, that, "in view of the growing division of feeling between the Northern and Southern parts of the Union," you may make such use of my name in your arrangements for the public meeting to be held at Faneuil Hall, on Thursday the 8th inst, as you deem proper. Very truly, your friend and servant,

LORENZO SABINE.

LETTER FROM J. THOMAS STEVENSON.

BOSTON, Dec. 3, 1859.

Gentlemen,—I have this morning received your note, in which you express a desire that I should permit my name to be used as that of one of the Vice Presidents at the meeting to be held in Faneuil Hall on Thursday. Certainly—and it is only to be regretted that such should be the condition of things as to make it necessary to obtain in advance, from any loyal citizen, permission to use his name (however humble) or to expect his co-operation, in a public meeting, which is called for the avowed purpose of declaring attachment to the Union and the Constitution of the country. Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. THOS. STEVENSON.

LETTER FROM GENERAL BUTLER.

BOSTON, Dec. 6, 1859.

Gentlemen,—It is more than probable that an imperative professional engagement will prevent my personal presence with you at the public meeting in Faneuil Hall on Thursday next. I can have no hesitation in joining my fellow citizens in any expression which would tend to allay the excitement of a part of our national confederacy, because of the unjustifiable raid upon their safety and domestic quiet. Let everything be done to assure the South, that, in spite of the tolling of bells at the death of an executed criminal, or eulogistic speeches upon his treason and murders the great heart of the North beats true to its constitu-

tional obligations, and its pulsations are not accurately to be counted by the spasmodic agitations of the few who so loudly claim to represent public opinion here. The only possible suggestion that can be made against the proposed meeting, would be, that such a demonstration would elevate into too much apparent consideration those agitators, and cause those at a distance to suppose them to be, what we know they are not, the exponents of any considerable portion of the public thought of Massachusetts. Yet, perhaps the exigency has arisen, making it necessary to show what is indeed the true national feeling of the Commonwealth. If my name can be of service in this matter, it is at your disposal.

Truly yours, BENJ. F. BUTLER.

LETTER FROM GEO. B. LORING.

SALEM, Dec. 5, 1859.

Gentlemen,—Your invitation to attend "a public meeting to be held at Faneuil Hall, on Thursday next," by the Union-loving citizens of Massachusetts, is received, and I desire to express my thanks for your consideration, and my regrets that my presence will be prevented by a necessary journey to Washington. The object of the meeting should appeal to the patriotism and honor of every good citizen. "The growing division of feeling between the Northern and Southern parts of the Union," has indeed assumed a formidable appearance; and yet every man will see that, in the midst of the impious and treasonable demonstrations which we have just witnessed, there is a sound and healthy and religious conservatism,—a conservatism prompt to be heard in every crisis, but too unmindful of that "eternal vigilance" which may sustain good government at the ballot-box; which will be our safety and defence in all time to come, as it has been in all time past, whenever dangers surround us. The use of my name, as one of the vice-presidents, on an occasion when this conservatism, this regard for law and social order, seeks expression, is a compliment for which you will please to accept my profound acknowledgments. Respectfully your obedient servant,

GEO. B. LORING.

LETTER FROM E. D. BEACH.

SPRINGFIELD, Dec. 5, 1859.

Gentlemen,—I am this moment in the receipt of your favor of the 3d inst., inviting me to be present at a public meeting in Faneuil Hall on the 8th, and asking permission to use my name as one of the Vice-Presidents. I do greatly rejoice that from the men of Boston and from Faneuil Hall, is to go forth a voice declaring that the sentiment and principles proclaimed at recent meetings in Boston, professedly of sympathy for the family of John Brown, but really to exalt a murderer and glorify his deeds, are not the sentiment and principles of Boston and Massachusetts. Whatever the feeling of Massachusetts may be as to the institution of slavery, she has not fallen so low in the scale of patriotism, she is not yet so lost to her position and duty as to laud the armed invasion of a sister State, as to justify and applaud the murdering of her citizens, as to embalm the memory of those whose hands are red and reeking with innocent blood. I do not know that I can certainly be present on Thursday, but I am with you heart and hand. My name is at your service, and whether present or absent, I will hold myself in readiness for any service which I can render, and which you may command. With sentiments of the highest respect, your obedient servant,

E. D. BEACH.

LETTER FROM ISAAC DAVIS.

WORCESTER, Dec. 5, 1859.

Gentlemen,—Your letter inviting me to be present at a meeting to be held at Faneuil Hall on Thursday next, to express national sentiments in view of the growing division of feeling between the Northern and Southern parts of the Union, is before me, and I heartily sympathize with the objects of the meeting, and shall endeavor to be present. I have no objection to the committee making use of my name as suggested. With sentiments of great respect, I am gentlemen, your friend and obedient servant,

ISAAC DAVIS.

LETTER FROM J. P. HEALY.

BOSTON, Dec. 5, 1859.

Dear Sir,—I have the honor to have received the circular letter of the Executive Committee, appointed to make preparations for the meeting in Faneuil Hall on Thursday next, inviting me to be present at the meeting, and to permit my name to be used as that of one of the Vice-Presidents. Most cordially concurring in the sentiments, which it is intended the meeting shall express and disseminate, it will give me pleasure to be present and take part in the proceedings indicated by the committee. Very respectfully your obedient servant,

J. P. HEALY.

LETTER FROM MARSHALL P. WILDER.

BOSTON, Dec. 5, 1859.

Gentlemen,—I am honored with your circular in relation to the proposed meeting at Faneuil Hall. I sympathize most heartily in the objects of the meeting, and am willing that my name should be used as one of the Vice-Presidents on that occasion, or in any way that may best subserve the cause you are so worthily seeking to advance.

Yours sincerely, MARSHALL P. WILDER.

LETTER FROM R. SHERMAN.

PAWTUCKET, Dec. 5, 1859.

Gentlemen,—Your invitation, "on behalf of the Executive Committee," to be present at a meeting to be held on Thursday next, has this moment come to hand. I shall deem it an honor to attend a meeting for the purpose indicated, and you are at liberty to make such use of my name in connexion with the call therefor, as you may desire. Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. SHERMAN.

LETTER FROM C. W. CARTWRIGHT.

December 4, 1859.

Gentlemen,—In reply to your note of 3d inst., I beg leave to say that I not only consent to have my name appear as one of the Vice-Presidents but shall be gratified to have it there. I am, with much respect, your ob't servant,

C. W. CARTWRIGHT.

LETTER FROM D. N. CARPENTER.

GREENFIELD, Dec. 5, 1859.

Gentlemen,—Your note of 3d inst., inviting me to be present at a public meeting, to be held at Faneuil Hall, 8th inst., I have just received. The object of that meeting meets my approbation fully; and I intend to be present. Most respectfully, your obedient servant,

D. N. CARPENTER.

LETTER FROM SIDNEY BARTLETT.

COURT ST., Dec. 5, 1859.

Hon. Wm. Appleton.—Dear Sir,—Any use that the Committee for arranging the meeting at Faneuil Hall may please to make of my name I consent to, as the object has my hearty concurrence. My taste and habits make me unwilling to address the meeting.

Very truly yours, S. BARTLETT.

LETTER FROM E. F. HODGES.

42 COURT ST., Dec. 5, 1859.

Gentlemen,—Your invitation to attend a meeting at Faneuil Hall on the 8th inst., to express "National Sentiments," is gratefully received. I shall certainly attend, and have no doubt the expression of that meeting will have a healthful influence throughout the country. Any use of my name that seems to the Committee desirable in furtherance of the purpose of the meeting, is cheerfully conceded. I am, gentlemen, very respectfully your obdt. servt.,

E. F. HODGES.

LETTER FROM E. B. BIGELOW.

BOYLSTON ST., Dec. 5, 1859.

Gentlemen,—In reply to your communication, 3d instant, I have the honor to say that I shall be happy to have my name used as one of the Vice Presidents of the proposed meeting at Faneuil Hall, Thursday next, as I heartily sympathise with the cause it is intended to promote. I am, gentlemen, very respectfully yours,

E. B. BIGELOW.

LETTER FROM CHARLES THOMPSON.

CHARLESTOWN, Dec. 5, 1859.

Gentlemen,—Your favor of the 3d inst. was received this morning. Sympathising fully with the objects of the proposed meeting on Thursday next, I cheerfully comply with your request, tendering you my thanks for the honor you have thus conferred upon me. Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

CHARLES THOMPSON.

LETTER FROM GEO. PEABODY.

SALEM, Dec. 5, 1859.

Gentlemen,—I shall be most happy to co-operate with you in the proposed meeting at Faneuil Hall in any way in which you think I can be of service. Respectfully yours,

GEO. PEABODY.

LETTER FROM R. NEWTON.

WORCESTER, Dec. 6, 1859.

Hon. Wm. Appleton—Sir,—I have received your invitation to be present at a public meeting to be held at Faneuil Hall on the 8th inst. I have long believed that our political affairs, both State and National, were in a false position, and hope they may be improved.

I intend to be in Boston on Thursday next, and when there your Committee will make such disposition of me as they may think proper. Respectfully your obedient,

R. NEWTON.

LETTER FROM CALEB STETSON.

BRAINTREE, Dec. 6, 1859.

Gentlemen,—Your favor under date of the 3d is at hand. It will give me pleasure to render your Committee any aid to express in co-operation with all National men of New England their adherence to the Constitution and the Union—our country—the whole country, without distinction of party. I am truly yours,

CALEB STETSON.

LETTER FROM BENJAMIN M. FARLEY.

BOSTON, Dec. 6, 1859.

Gentlemen,—I have just received your note of the 3d inst., inviting me to be present at a public meeting to be held at Faneuil Hall in this city on Thursday next at 11 o'clock A. M., to express National sentiments in view of the growing division of feeling between the Northern and Southern parts of the Union.

I deem the meeting of the highest importance, and consider it the imperative duty of every good citizen to aid in promoting the great object of this meeting.

It will afford me much pleasure to be present on that occasion, and shall feel myself much honored by the position indicated. I am very respectfully your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN M. FARLEY.

LETTER FROM DAVID SEARS, JR.

BOSTON, Dec. 6, 1859.

Gentlemen,—I cordially approve of the above meeting, and authorize the use of my name as one of the Vice Presidents.

Yours, D. SEARS, JR.

LETTER FROM NATHANIEL SILSBEE.

SALEM, Dec. 5, 1859.

Gentlemen,—As I much approve the object of the meeting at Faneuil Hall to be held on Thursday next, I am willing that my name should be used in aid of it. I am very desirous to be present at the meeting, but my engagements here will probably prevent.

Very respectfully your obt. svt. NATH. SILSBEE.

LETTER FROM RICHARD S. ROGERS.

SALEM, Dec. 5, 1859.

Gentlemen,—Your note of 3d inst. was received this morning, and fully sympathizing in the object for which the meeting of the 8th inst. is called, I cheerfully submit my name to be used as you desire.

With respect, your obt. svt. RICH. S. ROGERS.

LETTER FROM B. F. HALLETT.

Gentlemen,—I shall esteem it an honor to have my name used as one of the Vice-Presidents at the proposed meeting in Faneuil Hall, to express national sentiments in view of the growing division of feeling between the Northern and Southern States. Such a meeting is eminently fitting to be held in Boston, for if Massachusetts desires to enjoy the benefits of this Union, which has made all her prosperity, her considerate citizens in private life must give some assurance that as a people they do not mean to violate the obligations of constitutional as well as civil contracts.

With great respect, B. F. HALLETT.

LETTER FROM EDWARD A. NEWTON.

PITTSFIED, Dec. 5, 1859.

Gentlemen,—I have received your letter of the 3d instant, inviting me to attend a "public meeting, to be held in Faneuil Hall, to express national sentiments, &c.," on Thursday next. When I heard of this proposed meeting on Saturday last, I determined to attend it, at whatever inconvenience to myself; and then, and since, I have been urged by many of my neighbors, among the most intelligent, respectable, and influential citizens, to do so, and represent them. Thus, Providence permitting, I will assuredly come, and deem myself much honored by being nominated as one of the Vice-Presidents for the occasion.

Very respectfully, EDWARD A. NEWTON.

LETTER FROM LUTHER V. BELL.

CHARLESTOWN, Dec. 5, 1859.

Gentlemen,—In reply to your note of the 3d inst., just received, I would say that the movement which you forward has my fullest sympathy, and I shall be happy to co-operate with you in any position in which I may be placed. Very faithfully yours,

LUTHER V. BELL.

LETTER FROM MOSES WILLIAMS.

BOSTON, Dec. 3, 1859.

Gentlemen,—In your note of this date, you ask me in behalf of the Executive Committee, to be present at a public meeting, to be held at Faneuil Hall on Thursday next, at 11 o'clock, A. M., to express national sentiments in view of the growing division of feeling between the Northern and Southern parts of the Union. You also ask me to allow my name to be used as that of one of the Vice Presidents. I thank you, gentlemen, for the honor you have done me by the above invitation. I will be present at the meeting, and shall esteem it a privilege, and an honor to my name, to have it named and numbered among the Vice Presidents of that meeting. Very truly and respectfully your friend,

MOSES WILLIAMS.

LETTER FROM JAS. D. GREEN.

CAMBRIDGE, Dec. 5, 1859.

Gentlemen,—Heartily concurring with you in sentiment as to the object of the meeting to be held at Faneuil Hall on Thursday next, I am happy to signify my acceptance of your invitation to be present; and shall esteem it an honor to have my name used, if such be your desire, as that of one of the Vice Presidents on the occasion. Very respectfully yours,

JAS. D. GREEN.

LETTER FROM ALANSON TUCKER, JR.

BOSTON, Dec. 5, 1859.

Gentlemen,—It will give me pleasure to offer not only my name, but also my purse, if needed, to promote the object of your circular. Your obedient servant,

ALANSON TUCKER, JR.

LETTER FROM NATHANIEL WOOD.

FITCHBURG, Dec. 5, 1859.

Gentlemen,—Your letter of 3d instant, inviting me to be present at a public meeting to be held at Faneuil Hall on Thursday next, for the purpose therein expressed, has been received. Permit me to say that I most cordially approve of the object of said meeting.

My name is at your service—and I will endeavor to be present, if other pressing engagements will permit. Very respectfully your obdt. servt.,

NATHL. WOOD.

LETTER FROM GEO. MARSTON.

BARNSTABLE, Dec. 3, 1859.

Gentlemen,—I have received the circular letter inviting me to be present at a public meeting on the 8th inst. in Faneuil Hall. The object meets my most cordial concurrence; and I regret that an imperative engagement in Court prevents my attendance. You have liberty to use my name as an officer of the meeting, or in any like manner, in this business. Very truly yours,

GEO. MARSTON.

LETTER FROM COL. ELLIS.

SOUTH CARVER, Dec. 6, 1859.

Gentlemen,—Your favor of the 3d inst. has just been received. I most fully concur in the object of

the meeting, and shall feel highly honored to have my name used in such capacity as you may deem proper.

Very truly, your obdt. servant.

MATT. ELLIS.

LETTER FROM PROFESSOR PEIRCE.

CAMBRIDGE, Dec. 3, 1859.

Gentlemen,—With all my heart I accept your invitation for the public meeting of Thursday next, and place myself and my name at your disposal. In so holy a cause, I am grateful to be permitted to serve my country.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,
BENJAMIN PEIRCE.

LETTER FROM MAJOR PHINNEY.

BARNSTABLE, Dec. 5, 1859.

Gentlemen,—I have very great pleasure in seeing a call for a National meeting at Faneuil Hall. I shall esteem it an honor to be one of its Vice Presidents. It is certainly time for all National men to awake to patriotic action.

The meeting will be approved of all over our glorious Union, by all who are opposed to the reckless fanaticism of the hour, and I most heartily wish that similar meetings would assemble in all the counties throughout New England and the entire North. Very respectfully, your obedient servant.

S. B. PHINNEY.

LETTER FROM FREDERIC TUDOR.

BOSTON, Dec. 3, 1859.

Dear Sir,—I observe by the circular of the Committee, I am asked to act as one of the Vice Presidents of the Faneuil Hall meeting.

I answer, I am willing in any way to contribute my feeble aid to a meeting so timely and so necessary. Your obedient servant,

FREDERIC TUDOR.

LETTER FROM EDWARD DICKINSON.

AMHERST, Dec. 6, 1859.

Gentlemen: I have received your circular of the 3d inst., inviting me "to be present at a public meeting to be held in Faneuil Hall on Thursday next, to express National sentiments in view of the growing division of feeling between the Northern and Southern parts of the Union," and reply:

That while I have no desire to appear upon the political stage in any public capacity, and perhaps do not fully appreciate the necessity or the importance of the proposed demonstration—

And while I regard the tone of public sentiment, both at the North and the South, as intemperate and unpatriotic, and deserving of rebuke; and the conduct of many of the leading politicians in both sections as unworthy of the respect or confidence of men who love the Constitution, and who regard our Republic as a grand instrumentality, under the guidance of a wise Providence, in the scheme of universal civilization and Christianization; and while the lowering of the standard of public morals, and the toleration of the want of integrity in public officers, forebodes only evil—

I should rejoice, if it were consistent, to participate in a public meeting whose proceedings should savor of that true love of our country and its institutions—of that elevated patriotism which animated Washington and Jefferson and Adams and Clay and Webster, and which should recognize such men as statesmen, and hold them up before the people as worthy of admiration and imitation.

If the object of this meeting is to utter only sentiments which become us as American citizens, inde-

pendent of party, and which will tend to strengthen the attachment of the people to the Union, to which we are all indebted for the enjoyment of high and distinctive political rights and privileges as citizens and freemen at home; and which furnishes us a passport and protection in all other lands and from all other governments, I bid you God speed.

Believing the meeting to be called for these high purposes, I shall cordially co-operate in the adoption of any measures which have in view the promotion of public harmony, and the inculcation of correct and patriotic sentiments—always keeping in view that our Government is based on reciprocal compromises, and that each portion of our country must respect these compromises; and that each should manifest their self-respect, by showing their respect for the rights of all.

Very respectfully and truly yours,
EDWARD DICKINSON.

LETTER FROM HENRY HERSEY.

HINGHAM, Dec. 5, 1859.

Dear Sir,—I received, this morning, a circular, to which your name was affixed, inviting me to be present at a meeting to be held at Faneuil Hall, on Thursday, the 8th inst., to express national sentiments, &c.

It will give me much pleasure to be present on that occasion; and you may say to the committee, I cheerfully permit my name to be used in accordance with their desire.

Very respectfully, yours, &c.,
HENRY HERSEY.

LETTER FROM R. S. SPOFFORD, JR.

BOSTON, Dec. 6, 1859.

Gentlemen,—I have the the honor in reply to your letter of the 3d inst. to inform you that it will be a point of honor with me to be present at the meeting in Faneuil Hall on Thursday next, to which it refers, and that it will give me pleasure to have my name used in this connection as you have been pleased to suggest.

With sentiments of grateful acknowledgment for your attention, and of sincere personal respect,

I remain, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
R. S. SPOFFORD, JR.

LETTER FROM DR. JAMES JACKSON.

BOSTON, Dec. 5, 1859.

My Dear Sir,—I am not a public man, and have never taken part in any political matters, and have not any desire to do so. I regard the object proposed for the meeting on Thursday as highly important. I am old enough to remember the change produced in public affairs by the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, which went into operation in 1789. I pray for the maintenance of that Constitution according to its true intent. If possible, I shall attend the meeting on Thursday; but I fear that it will not be possible. I have not any objection to the use of my name, as proposed by your Committee. I am very truly, your friend,

J. JACKSON.

LETTER FROM MAJOR TABER.

NEW BEDFORD, Dec. 6, 1859.

Dear Sir,—I very much regret that business engagements will prevent me from being with you on the 8th inst.,—the more so, as my sympathies are strongly enlisted in the movement.

Trusting the demonstration will be a successful one, and exert a healthy influence on the community, I remain yours truly,

I. C. TABER.

LETTER FROM DANIEL FISHER.

EDGARTOWN, Dec. 7, 1859.

Dear Sir,—The circular of the Executive Committee reached me last evening. It would very gratifying to join in the proposed meeting on Thursday next, but circumstances not under my control will prevent me from being present.

I view it of great importance that there should now be an expression of national sentiments in Massachusetts to counteract the treasonable sympathies that have lately been manifested by Northern people.

The Committee are at liberty to use my name in any way they think proper.

Respectfully, yours,
DANIEL FISHER.

LETTER FROM JAMES H. CARLETON.

HAVERHILL, Dec. 7, 1859.

Gentlemen,—Yours of Dec. 3 found me in a sick room. I hoped to be with you, but to-day I am compelled to say I can be but in spirit. I long to hear some of the "old Faneuil Hall" music, such as used to vibrate through the Commonwealth. Recreant sons are teaching treason and discord in places immortalized by patriot sires; but thank God we have Everett, Winthrop, Hillard and a host of others, fit priests to serve at altars, whose fires were lighted by pilgrim hands. May these and others, on Thursday, religiously unmask hypocrisy, probe pretence, and dwarf treason, and once more bring acceptable offerings to the altar of true liberty. Progress and reform here mean forward one, back two; and being played on a harp of a single string, the music sounds old. What we want now is a grand chorus to the tune of the "Constitution and the Union:" it will be new to some, and will find a response in more hearts than you dream of.

Very respectfully,
JAS. H. CARLETON.

LETTER FROM WM. G. BATES.

WESTFIELD, Dec. 7, 1859.

Gentlemen,—Your favor of Dec. 3d has just come to hand, on my return. It is impossible for me to attend at the public meeting, on the 8th; but it would be a pleasure to hear "national sentiments" expressed, which will be poorly compensated by the perusal of published reports. I have time only to say that I approve of any measures calculated to assure the whole country that, in all sections of it, there exists a large proportion of the people who look with disapprobation upon efforts to create "a division of feeling" between the North and the South, and who regard such efforts not only as disgraceful to the actors, and a reproach to the community in which they originate, but exceedingly injurious to the interests and character of the American Republic.

You are at liberty to use my name in the way you propose; and with the expression of my regrets that I cannot be with you, I am, very truly,

WM. G. BATES.

LETTER FROM JUDGE CURTIS.

BOSTON, Dec. 7, 1859.

Gentlemen,—Though I cannot comply with your request to address my fellow-citizens at Faneuil Hall to-morrow, the object of the meeting has my entire approval.

I understand that object to be to declare that any direct and forcible interference with slavery in Virginia, or in any other State of the Union, by people of the non-slaveholding States, is a gross and barbarous wrong, violating the public law, established for the peace of the world between States connected only by the law of nations, and still more offensive to

that law which should govern the States of this Union and their people in their treatment of each other :

That when such an interference with slavery has been attempted, any expression of sympathy with the enterprise must justly be deemed offensive and hostile to the State and people against whom it has been directed :

That because the principal actor in such an attempt has shown courage and steadiness in his wrong, and an apparent inability to appreciate its enormity, we should not be diverted from our just judgment of his act, by our attention to what we suppose to be the qualities or motives of the agent :

That John Brown, together with his confederates who came from or remained in the non-slaveholding States, undertook to make an insurrection against the laws and government of the State of Virginia, which has the same right to govern itself as the State of Massachusetts has :

That his preparations and acts, and those of his confederates, present and absent, show, in the most convincing manner, that they contemplated not only civil disturbance, but bloodshed, in the execution of their design :

And that it is incumbent on all who love peace and respect law, to feel and express a decided and unqualified condemnation of this enormous wrong, and of the conduct of all who, directly or indirectly, favored it, or who hold up the crime itself, or its agents, as worthy of public approval.

Understanding this to be the purpose of the meeting, I repeat, it has my entire and hearty approval.

I remain, gentlemen, with great respect, your
 edient servant, B. R. CURTIS.

[From the Boston Courier of Dec. 9th.]

THE GREAT MEETING.

It would be entirely impossible to overstate the remarkable and most gratifying characteristics of the powerful demonstration yesterday forenoon, at the Old Cradle of Liberty. The morning was unpropitious. The lingering storm, of three or four days' duration, still obscured the sky, a light snow descended, and every wintry indication was manifest in the city. No doubt, the state of the weather kept many of our more distant friends from responding to the call. But though they would have been cheerfully welcomed, if present, the idea of penetrating into Faneuil Hall, after the hour appointed for the meeting, was vain. In fact, it was completely filled and packed in every part, for the entire three hours and more during which the exercises continued. But the spirit of the assembly was even more significant than its numbers. The close attention, the earnest feeling, which this vast crowd manifested from evening to end,—the frequent tears in the eyes

and on the faces of multitudes touched by a common sympathy, as some patriotic emotion was awakened by the sentiments of the several speakers,—bore a witness not to be mistaken of the spirit which animated them.

It was our own good fortune to be so situated as to see and hear the whole; and we declare, that we have attended no public assembly so thoroughly imbued with the thoughts and feelings becoming the occasion. The audience seemed composed of men whose minds were awake to the intense importance of the object which had called them together,—whose hearts were swelling with pent-up emotions, longing to find adequate expression,—who were intent, earnest, resolved,—and who responded, therefore, instantly, to the remotest link of the electric chord,—as a stirring thought or word vibrated along the chain. It was no abstract question of mere political expediency or even of national policy which was before them. An irreparable calamity, nearer or more remote, seemed to overhang their common country,—their noble country and its institutions,—that for which their fathers bled, and which they so fondly cherished. It was a real, pressing, formidable danger; yet capable of being turned aside, if met like men: and no person could look upon the assembly at Faneuil Hall and help feeling that they met it like men,—thoughtful, responsible men, ready to renew their vows to the Constitution of their country, ready to fight, if need be, and conquer or die in defence of the Union, which demagogues and fanatics had so madly put in peril. We have heard those who have witnessed much in the past history of the country pronounce that no such meeting, in point of numbers and enthusiasm, has been held in Faneuil Hall, since revolutionary times. We can well believe this,—we are sure it could never have been surpassed. We look from it for the most beneficial results in clearing away a cloud of prejudice, which has hung over our beloved old Commonwealth. Say what we will—Boston is the North,—more distinctly and emphatically than any other part of it. We may well believe that the doings of yesterday, therefore, will in

one day avert from this country the greatest evil which has impended over it since the Constitution,—that misrepresentation will be silenced,—fanaticism be checked,—a barrier and an obstacle interposed to the headlong course of much recent madness and folly, and that more amicable relations may now be established between the North and the South, than have existed since the period of our revolutionary history.

If such benefits result from the congregation of the good men of Massachusetts, constituting the vast majority of her people, who were so nobly represented in Faneuil Hall, yesterday, we and our posterity will have good reason to bless the day and the occasion, to the latest moment of our lives. We do not propose to make any enlarged comments upon the exercises. As the officers and speakers entered the hall, and the crowd made way for them, the vast assembly gave the most undoubted signs that it rejoiced to meet so many more, face to face, the men in whom they justly have confidence, at any and every trying period in the fortunes of the country.

Their speeches answer emphatically for themselves. Gov. Lincoln's opening remarks, from an old and venerated citizen of seventy-seven years, are in many respects remarkable for their spirit and wisdom and high intellectual power. Nothing could be more

appropriate, fervent and lofty in tone than the prayer of Dr. Blagden. The resolutions submitted were every one applauded earnestly in their turn, both in parts and the whole. In eloquence and warmth and practical force, we could not but think that Mr. Everett surpassed all his previous efforts. Mr. Cushing enchaind the attention of the audience by a speech, so clear, forcible and fairly overwhelming in its effect, that its influence could not be exceeded. The nobly patriotic letter of Ex-President Pierce, rising high above the considerations of party, and contemplating with the eye of a statesman the conditions and prospects of the country and the imperative duty of its citizens, fitly closed the proceedings. The audience waited with interest to the last, and would have remained hours longer for addresses from leading men.

The meeting was held in the middle of day, as exhibiting a more marked and serious interest in the occasion. In every point of view it was a most remarkable and significant demonstration. Nothing failed, which was expected or desired, but all was completely successful. It will have the most powerful and salutary influence. It is a day and an occasion long to be remembered with the most unmeasured satisfaction in the annals of the country.

[Advertisement.]

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OPINIONS OF THE PRESS ON THE BOSTON COURIER.

[From the Barnstable Patriot.]

THE BOSTON COURIER.—We publish in another column the Prospectus of this paper. No newspaper in New England is more efficient and fearless in its assaults on the heresies of black republicanism than the Courier; and we are glad to know it is having a circulation such as its patriotic character and national tone deserves. The people of this section of the State who deserve a good, sound, reliable Boston newspaper, cannot do better than to subscribe for the Courier. Its literary character and general news department are such as highly to recommend it, aside from its unexceptionable political character. We wish it abundant prosperity and unlimited success.

[From the Bath (Me.) Times, Nov. 18, 1859.]

THE BOSTON COURIER—two daily editions, Morning and Evening, semi-weekly and weekly—is published by Messrs. Clark, Fellows & Co., basement of the Old State House, Boston, and is to the reading public as interesting, entertaining, and instructive a paper as can be found in the country. It has an able corps of editors, several of whom rank very high in the literary world. While we find many things to dislike in the Courier, we always like its fearless independence, and its open enunciation of its opinions. It is no mere echo of other people's thoughts—no mere sycophant at the footstool of power, but it is a power in itself, mighty in forming and leading public opinion. *Commercially, the COURIER is in the front rank of papers, while, as a reporter of law cases and decisions, it is at the head of the newspaper press.*

[From the Boston Journal.]

In point of editorial talent and ability, the Courier is in the foremost rank among the American newspapers.

[From the Boston Herald, Oct. 7th, 1858.]

BOSTON EVENING COURIER.—Our conservative contemporary, the Courier, which, under the management of Messrs. Clark, Fellows & Co., has become one of the ablest journals in this country, entered a new field of enterprise yesterday afternoon, by issuing an evening edition of the paper. The new candidate for post meridian favors from the public looks, in a typographical point of view, as neat and tasteful as the "art preservative" is capable of producing. Of its excellence, newspaperially, the rapid disposal of a large edition is

the best commendation we can make. With a corps of editors unequalled in talent by any of its rivals, combined with the energy of its publishers, the Courier already outstripped its "heavy" contemporaries, established itself as an institution which will become as durable as the Union it so nobly sustains.

[From the Belfast (Me.) Journal.]

We think we hazard nothing in saying that the leading editorial features the Boston Courier is to no paper in the country—and we should lack sentiment of national pride and a just appreciation of American talent if we admitted that our newspaper exhibits less talent than any in the world. The editorials and literary reviews are from pens that have been polished by education of the highest order, and the reflex of minds well schooled by experience, life, and come from sound judgments, less warped by prejudice than most that direct the public press. The articles of the Courier, in diction, construction, finish, as well as force and logic, might serve as models of good writing for the student in any province of literature.

[From the New Orleans Picayune.]

THE BOSTON EVENING COURIER. The Boston Courier, one of the ablest journals in the Union, has commenced the issue of an evening edition, several numbers of which we have received. The evening, like the morning paper, presents a remarkably handsome appearance, and evidences of good taste and judgment in the variety and attractiveness of its contents. The Evening Courier, we imagine, will quickly become a favorite in the refined and intellectual home circles, not in New England only, but throughout the Union.

[From the Mobile Advertiser.]

☞ The Boston Courier, one of the best journals in New England, and conducted with marked taste and ability, has commenced the issue of an evening edition. It is to contain less political matter and more miscellaneous reading than the morning paper. So says the Journal of Commerce, and we subscribe to every word of its commendation of the Courier. It is an excellent, conservative Journal, and we are glad to see it meeting the success its merits.

